This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

E
616
.M8
C28

A 399901

CAMP MORTON

REPLY TO

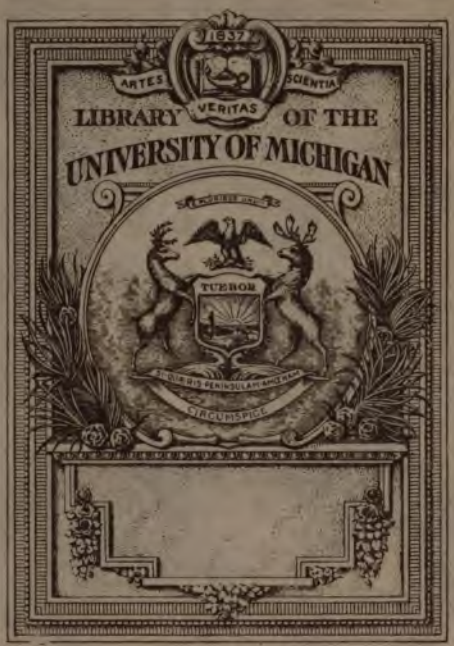
DR. JOHN A. WYETH

BY

JAMES R. CARNAHAN.

Indiana Department
M. O. L. A.
Feb 25 1892

Apr. 15 1892



THE GIFT OF
Indiana Commandery
M.O.L.L.A.

616
.M8
C22

343

CAMP MORTON

140

REPLY TO

DR. JOHN A. WYETH

BY

JAMES R. CARNAHAN.

Indiana Commandery,

M. O. L. L. A.

February 22, 1892.

Baker-Randolph L. & E. Co.

MILITARY ORDER OF THE LOYAL LEGION

OF THE UNITED STATES,

HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMANDERY OF THE

STATE OF INDIANA.

OFFICE OF THE RECORDER,
INDIANAPOLIS, February 25, 1892.

At the regular meeting of the Indiana Commandery, M. O. L. L. U. S., held Friday, May 8, 1891, the following resolution was presented by Companion W. H. Armstrong, and was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That Companion James R. Carnahan be requested to report to this Commandery the result of his investigations as Chairman of the Committee of the Department of Indiana, G. A. R., concerning the charges published in the *Century* by Dr. John A. Wyeth, concerning the treatment of Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton."

At the regular meeting of the Indiana Commandery, held on Monday evening, February 22, 1892, Companion James R. Carnahan made his report of his investigation of the charges above referred to, and the following resolution was presented by Companion Irvin Robbins, and was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That having heard Companion Carnahan read his report in reply to the articles of Dr. John A. Wyeth, in the *Century* Magazine, concerning the treatment of prisoners of war at Camp Morton, this Commandery indorses the statements therein made, and recommends their perusal by all interested in the vindication of the true history of those events.

"*Resolved*, That seven hundred and fifty copies be printed and the Recorder be authorized to send a copy to each Commandery and to the principal libraries of the country."

True copies.

Attest:

B. B. PECK,

Recorder.

CAMP MORTON.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEB. 22, 1892.

Gen. Lew Wallace, Commander Indiana Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion:

Some time since this Commandery saw fit to assign to me a very important duty. Knowing full well the magnitude and responsibility of the trust, I accepted the position willingly. This work required a thorough examination into the truth or falsity of the statements contained in an article entitled, "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton" in the April (1891) *Century*, by Dr. John A. Wyeth, and also those contained in his "Rejoinder" to the answer to his article by Colonel W. R. Holloway, entitled "Treatment of Prisoners at Camp Morton," in the September (1891) *Century*.

In this work I have been moved to a faithful performance of my duty, not simply through a soldier's wish to discharge the task assigned, but actuated by an earnest desire to vindicate the good name of my native State, and the honorable name of our Companions and Comrades of the Union Army, from the aspersions of an enemy.

The position and standing of Dr. Wyeth in an honorable profession, required that the examination be made carefully and thoroughly, and with a firm adherence to the facts.

In making the investigation there has entered no feeling of enmity toward anyone of those men who stood on the other side of the line from us from 1861 to 1865. It has been sought by every available means to ascertain the true history of the treatment of prisoners at Camp Morton, from honorable men yet living, who were witnesses of the events and scenes in and about that historic camp.

Each one of us in this Commandery has passed that

period of life when the hot fires of prejudice or hate may govern and control our actions. We, too, have passed the fearful ordeal of the battle-field, and long, long years ago learned, through that deadly contest, to respect the courage and skill of our antagonists.

In this investigation, the principles for which either army fought are not to be inquired into. The question at issue is one that involves that higher and divine law which teaches a God-like spirit of kindly treatment to a fallen foe. Nor shall any feeling of retaliation enter into anything that shall be said on the question at issue. The wholesale accusations made by the author of the article referred to, are too serious to be passed by lightly, or to be answered in the heat of passion. By that article it is sought to cast a stain upon the good name of the people of the entire State of Indiana; not this only, but a stain is cast upon the name and fame of every Union soldier, officer or man, who was in any way connected with the guarding or care of the Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton; for if even one officer or one enlisted man of all of the number of the guard was guilty of any of the crimes that are charged, and the others knew of these crimes, and if the charges be true, they must all have known it, then all were guilty, and no plea of retaliation for wrongs committed by our enemies upon our comrades can wipe out the stain. War under any and all circumstances, as we know full well, is cruel, terrible, horrible. The true American soldier, at the best, can only use his strongest and bravest energies to rob the battle-field, or the prisoner's confinement, of their horrors or discomforts. We should also know that while the victor should be moderate in his rejoicings, the vanquished, the prisoner, should also show as truly soldierly qualities in his misfortune; and the prisoner who insults or abuses his soldier guard, or one who encourages or excuses such abuse, knowing as he does that the sentinel is obeying legally constituted authority,

is a more dastardly coward and infamous miscreant, than he who deserts his colors on the battle-field. The difficulties surrounding the investigation of the charges have been many; but in this investigation we have worked with earnest zeal, believing as we did at the outset, that the allegations were false, and are now fully convinced that they are as false as the spirit of the author of them is revengeful.

In our investigations we have been ably assisted by Colonel W. R. Holloway, Private Secretary of Governor Morton during the war.

The writer of "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton" waited more than a quarter of a century after the alleged cruelties had happened before he, or any other person who was a prisoner at Camp Morton, said aught against the good name of the officers or enlisted men of the Union Army who were placed in charge of that great prison camp. Twenty-six years, from February, 1865, when the said John A. Wyeth was exchanged or set at liberty at Aikin's Landing on the James River, near Richmond, until April, 1891, are suffered to pass before he gives to the world, through the *Century*, this report of prison life at Camp Morton. Twenty-six years is not a long period in the history of the world, but twenty-six years in the lives of any certain class of men whose days are, and have been, spent in *peaceful* walks of life, is a long time, and serves very materially to thin out the ranks of that certain class, and lessens the possibility of reaching evidence on any given subject. Again, from a class of men reared in the same locality or State, be that east, west or north, twenty-six years is sufficient time in the changing of habitations to bring almost an entirely new population, and with the removals to other States and the locations of the survivors becoming unknown, the evidence of those who were upon the scene of even a remarkably notable occurrence is very hard to be obtained, or is wholly lost. These are diffi-

culties that would arise in peaceful times; how much greater would be the difficulties that would arise in the case of the men who took part in the stirring scenes that were enacted from 1861 to 1865? Those who escaped the death of the march, of the field and the camp, did not escape many, very many of the dangers incident thereto. The seeds of lingering diseases were deep sown in tens of thousands of those who lived to see the close of the war, to be mustered out of the army and again to enter into peaceful pursuits. These men soon found that though out of the military service, they were not free from its dangers and diseases, which followed them to their homes, and they who answer the final "roll-call" have grown more and more numerous each year of the past twenty-six, and so in that way the "witnesses" have grown fewer and fewer in number.

Again, the men who composed the Union Army were, above all other men who preceded them in the history of this country, conspicuous for their activity, for their daring, for their enterprise, and for their ambition. When the war closed, these men, on returning from the army, found at the homes of their boyhood the avenues of trade and the professions filled by those who had remained at home during the years of war. The great West was full of possibilities to this class of men, and westward this great army wended its way until all trace of tens of thousands was lost by those who had known them in the army, or in the neighborhoods where they were reared.

Twenty-six years is permitted to pass before aught is said of the horrors of Camp Morton, and in that time the men who composed the guard in and about Camp Morton have been mustered out of the service, have gone to the places from whence they entered the service, North, East and West, and have again removed, and it is possible that they whose lips are not closed by death, may be so far removed from their old homes and former comrades, that

they may not be found to tell the truth in regard to Camp Morton and its inmates and their guards. May it not be that John A. Wyeth conceived the idea of preparing his story, trusting to the combination of circumstances that we have named to shield him from exposure?

"Time," says a great law writer, "is a circumstance of the very highest importance in criminal investigation; a necessary concomitant of all other circumstances; without which they could have no individuality, and, therefore, no value." "This question of time enters into every statement that is made by the witness or injured party, and goes far towards the settlement of the question as to the credence that is to be given to the witness." John A. Wyeth, both as a witness and as an injured party, appears for the first time twenty-six years after the alleged injury occurred. Neither he nor any of his co-prisoners have been held in duress to prevent them testifying. He, nor any one else charges that any threats or intimidations have been used to keep their mouths closed in regard to the alleged terrible crimes that were perpetrated upon them; for if the charges be true, they were crimes of the worst character, reaching in many instances to murder, either direct or indirect. Men were killed, it is alleged, but not one of the witnesses of all these fearful tragedies in all the twenty-six years has ever told the story, either to his friends or to his foes. Applying all the known tests, then, that the law applies to determine the value of evidence and the veracity of the witness, we say that John A. Wyeth, as a witness, comes far short of the best legal standard, and time sufficient has elapsed to utterly destroy the value or force of any accusation that might be made against the poorest wretch who was ever arraigned at the bar of justice, or brought before the open court of public opinion.

Take the indictment as prepared by Dr. John A. Wyeth, and examine each separate count with all of the impartiality and dispassion of a court seeking to get at the facts,

and with the earnest, but dispassionate desire to get the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in this investigation.

One count is cruel treatment, which includes beating, unnecessary exposure and neglect in the camp. Other counts are murder, in various forms, to-wit, by freezing, by starvation, and by shooting. We of the Union Army, and citizens of the great State of Indiana, from a legal standpoint, are placed in a peculiar position by answering the charges preferred by John A. Wyeth, but, in answering them, we do so that the author of history, falsely written, may not go unrebuked, and that the record of the loyal men and women of Indiana may be kept true to the history they made when Camp Morton was, per force, a prison camp. The charge is against the citizens of Indianapolis and of Indiana, as well as against the officers and troops who were directly in charge of the camp; for if there was such suffering as is depicted in Wyeth's article, the citizens of Indianapolis must have known it, and not only they of the city, but of the State of Indiana, and if such was the case, then all were guilty alike.

The true history of Camp Morton, its prisoners and guards, involves the beginning, continuance and ending of the war.

The location and topography of Camp Morton is well remembered by the first enlisted men of Indiana in 1861. The survivors of the first six Indiana regiments, from the Sixth to and including the Eleventh, had their first actual experience as United States soldiers within its walls. One after the other these regiments left the pleasant grounds and marched away to the front, and from first to last of all their soldier life there was not found anywhere a pleasanter or more healthful camp. This camp was occupied by the Indiana volunteers until in February, 1862. It had been fitted up with comfortable barracks, that were used by our own troops through the winter of 1861 and up to

the time named. Besides these barracks there were the buildings that had been erected thereon by the State Fair Association, which were also utilized by the troops. The ground was high and well drained, with an abundance of good water for drinking, cooking and other purposes. The grounds were well wooded and the foliage furnished delightful shade during the hot summer months.

In February, 1862, came Grant's great victory; indeed, it was the first great victory of the Union Army, and hundreds and thousands of prisoners from Fort Donaldson must be provided for and guarded. Governor Morton was appealed to, and he answered that he could provide for three thousand of the prisoners. These prisoners from Fort Donaldson and Fort Henry, and all who came thereafter, from Shiloh, from Stone River, from in and about Chattanooga, where Dr. Wyeth, then a boy, was captured, and through all of the years of the war, from every battle-field where prisoners were taken and sent to Camp Morton, came almost directly under the personal care of Governor Morton. We ask the soldiers of Indiana who knew so well of the care that Morton gave his Indiana troops; we ask the soldiers of other States who saw Morton on the field and saw his agents as they went about from bivouac to bivouac in the face of the enemy, looking after and caring for the soldier wherever found: are the statements of such neglect and cruelty toward soldiers who were prisoners worthy of belief? Morton was never charged, even by his most bitter enemy, with cruelty or even with harshness. He was the Governor who stands pre-eminent above all others of his day, as one who was careful of the lives of men. Strong, vigorous, resolute and fearless in the discharge of every duty, and in the advocacy of what he believed to be right. The history of the days of the war in Indiana shows that no one was more magnanimous toward a defeated foe than he.

When the first prisoners were brought to Camp Morton,

on February 22, 1862, they found that Governor Morton had looked after their comfort as well as he had looked after the comfort of his own troops.

Says General W. H. H. Terrell, who succeeded General Noble, Adjutant-General of Indiana, and who was on duty under Governor Morton at the time of which Dr. John A. Wyeth writes:

> The United States Quartermaster, Captain, afterwards Brigadier General James A. Ekin, proceeded to erect such additional barracks as were required, and placed those already built in the best possible condition for the reception of the prisoners. In the large agricultural and mechanical halls, bunks were arranged on the sides for sleeping, and long tables were placed in the center for serving up rations. Stoves were provided, and suitable bedding; clean straw and blankets, furnished to every man, as comfortable as could be expected or reasonably desired under the circumstances. The halls being insufficient to accommodate more than two thousand persons, other barracks were constructed out of the stock stalls adjoining the northern fence of the camp. These had been occupied by our own troops the preceding summer and fall, as quarters, and were considered quite cozy and comfortable. They were remodeled for the prisoners so as to give six apartments for sleeping and one for eating purposes, the latter made by throwing two stalls into one, with a table in the center, alternating along the whole northern line of the ground, in the proportion of six sleeping rooms to one eating room The usual garrison equipage and cooking utensils, with regular rations, plenty of dry fuel, etc., precisely the same as issued to our own troops, were furnished and so disposed for convenient messing. These preparations, of course, had to be made hurriedly, as only short notice of the arrival of the prisoners had been given, but they were improved upon afterwards, and the camp was made as comfortable and safe as circumstances would allow.

"As to Governor Morton's care for the prisoners confined in Camp Morton," says General Terrell, "when the fact was brought to the knowledge of Governor Morton that about three hundred of the Fort Donaldson captives were deficient in clothing, he telegraphed the Secretary of War for orders to have all their wants supplied by

the United States Quartermaster at Indianapolis, and the order was promptly given. After that, whenever a prisoner needed clothes, shoes or whatever was essential to his health or comfort, the Governor supplied it. The friends of prisoners were allowed to send them anything but luxuries, and the things sent, even money, were distributed as their wants required, with scrupulous fidelity."

It is our purpose to give as fully as we may, the statements of those who were present at Camp Morton on duty or as visitors, and mayhap prisoners as well, and can speak intelligently of what transpired from the time it was first occupied as a prison camp, until the last Confederate soldier was marched outside its prison walls. As against the fancy figures of Dr. Wyeth, we will be permitted to set out the figures as taken from the records and reports made at the time, by officers who were not only sworn to the full discharge of their duties and to the making of a faithful report thereon, but men whose sense of honor impelled them to honest and truthful statements.

We have quoted from the report of General Terrell as to the condition of Camp Morton, from the time the Fort Henry and Fort Donaldson prisoners were received until they were sent away for exchange. We now ask a careful consideration of the following statement of J. B. Harris, now the Secretary of The Terre Haute Gas Light Company, of Terre Haute, Indiana. Under date of April 27, 1891 (although his letter and those of Dr. Kitchen, Dr. Hervey and Dr. Kipp, cover several of the different charges made in the *Century* articles, I prefer to introduce them here intact, rather than cut them into pieces and introduce portions under the different heads; but what they say in answer to the different charges will be borne in mind as each of the charges is reached), he writes:

DEAR SIR—Understanding that you intend replying to and disapproving the statements of Dr. Wyeth, regarding the treatment of prisoners at Camp Morton, I feel it my duty to address you. No

person had better opportunity for correct information as to treatment of the prisoners, at the time of which I write, than I had.

I was a private in Company B, Fifty-fourth Indiana Volunteers, and went into camp at Camp Morton June 3, 1863. I was detailed to duty as a clerk in the Post Adjutant's office (Lieutenant E. J. Robinson) on the 19th day of the same month and continued in that position until after the exchange of the prisoners, and assisted in making the exchange rolls. The Post Adjutant's office was a building inside the guard line, the outside being in line with and constituting a part of the fence in the south line of the enclosure. The Commissary Department was likewise located inside the guard-line, on the east side of the enclosure.

There were two principal clerks in the office, one a young man named Thompson, who attended to outside business, while I was assigned to the inside affairs. The rebel prisoners were organized into "divisions," some one of their number being appointed Captain of the division, and he was held responsible for the conduct of his men. The commissioned officers of the Union forces entered the enclosure and called the prisoners' rolls, every day, to ascertain if all were present or accounted for. When the Captain of the prisoners' division presented his requisition for rations it was a part of my duty to compare the same with the roll-call reports, and, if correct, to "OK" the requisition in the Adjutant's name, and thereon the rations were issued accordingly at the Commissary Department. It was also a part of my duties to write every day a requisition on the heads of the divisions for a certain number of men for inside hospital guard duty, policing and sanitary duty, and for grave-diggers. There was a hospital inside the enclosure for the less severe cases of sickness. The worst cases were transferred to the City Hospital.

In the discharge of my duties I was in constant intercourse with the prisoners, and frequently passing through their quarters I had good opportunity to observe any suffering and to hear any complaint. While many may have regretted their enforced confinement, yet they did not complain of their accommodations or rations. They were better and more comfortably housed than our own troops on the outside. They were much better protected from the weather in the frame buildings than our men in the canvas tents.

The rations to prisoners were substantially the same as to our men. There was a slight change, but in lieu of that, tobacco and stationery were issued to the prisoners. There were occasional complaints of tainted meats during the extreme hot weather, both

by the Union soldiers and prisoners, but such was exceptional and was made satisfactory upon proper representation of the fact. The prisoners were kindly treated. All correspondence between them and their outside friends were perused before leaving the Adjutant's office, but no civil and respectful letter was ever suppressed. Eatables from outsiders, addressed to prisoners, were properly delivered.

The Post Quartermaster (Lupton) had for his principal deputy a man named George Mandell (I think that was the name) who was one of the prisoners. This man had really full sway and issued rations alike to Union men and the prisoners. In his employ were more rebels than Union soldiers, a fact which caused considerable comment at the time. I know this to be true as I messed with them.

I am sure the officers tried to treat the prisoners humanely, and that the good element in the prisoners appreciated and will acknowledge such to be the truth.

The following is a statement from Dr. J. M. Kitchen, than whom none stands higher in his profession, a resident and practicing physician of Indianapolis before, during the war, and ever since. We present this statement at this point in the case, and shall, in all probability, have occasion to refer to portions of it further on. We call attention to the fact that Dr. Kitchen began his work in Camp Morton with the first Union troops that entered our first camp for Indiana troops, and was on duty continuously, either in Camp Morton or the City Hospital, until June 15, 1865, when the war had closed. He ministered to the recruits and veterans of the Union Army as well as to the rebel prisoners captured on almost every battle-field of the war; surely a competent witness. He says:

On the 18th of April, 1861, we (Dr. P. H. Jameson and J. M. Kitchen) received an urgent letter from General Lew Wallace, approved by Governor O. P. Morton, asking me to take charge of the sick among the recruits at Camp Morton and provide for them suitable hospital accommodations. The State Fair Grounds had been selected as a camp for the six regiments of Infantry then in process of organization, and the identical cattle sheds and horse

stalls illustrated (?) in the April number of the *Century* Magazine, were occupied by these inexperienced troops, not one of whom was ever heard to complain of the hardships so graphically described thirty years afterwards by a Confederate successor. The City Hospital, then an empty building, was taken possession of by direction of the Governor of the State, furnished and conducted as a Military Hospital from May 1, 1861, to June 15, 1865, J. M. Kitchen being the surgeon in charge during that entire period. On the arrival of the prisoners from Donaldson, the capacity of the hospital was increased by the erection of additional buildings, and during the time specified the number of sick and wounded received for treatment, was 12,991; of these 12,170 were Union soldiers and 821 prisoners of war. It will readily be seen that when a bed was made "vacant," by death, or otherwise, it was soon occupied by another patient—a condition that seems not to have been enjoyed by the fastidious doctor who is obliged to confess that he found himself in kind hands. There was a vast amount of sickness among the Donaldson prisoners, and immediately on their arrival in Indianapolis three temporary hospitals were provided for their reception. The diseases were chiefly dysentery, diarrhœa, low forms of fever, pneumonia and erysipelas, and the mortality was large; but not from "starvation." Upon the completion of the additions to the City General Hospital, the temporary hospitals were closed, and subsequently all seriously sick prisoners were sent from Camp Morton to the City Hospital, an ambulance making two trips daily for that purpose. This continued to the close of the war. Federal soldiers and Confederate soldiers, sick and wounded, from both armies, jointly occupied this hospital. They were treated in every way alike; had the same kind of beds and bedding, the same clean underwear, the same nursing, the same medical aid, the same hospital supplies, the same kind of food, prepared at the same time and served in the same way; there was no distinction whatever, and all this by specific directions of Governor O. P. Morton. No complaints were ever made by the prisoners of bad treatment. The guard, at my request, was removed, and only two prisoners embraced the opportunity to escape. Finally when those captured at Fort Donaldson were mustered for exchange, *their physical condition was in every respect better than that of their guards and sentries; and this fact applied to subsequent prisoners.*

We submit the following letters, which speak for themselves. General Stevens writes:

When the war was over and the prisoners were discharged, many of them showed their appreciation of kindness to them by presenting mementoes to Mrs. Stevens. She has now in her possession a large number of these gifts, among them being a table and box made by the prisoners, presented while they were in Camp Morton. Accompanying the table came a note to Mrs. Stevens which shows how the prisoners felt. It said:

"Allow two prisoners of Camp Morton to present to you, through the hand of your husband, Colonel A. A. Stevens, this token, as a memento for the kindness your husband has bestowed upon us since he has been Commander of this prison. Think, madam, that we will never forget your husband or yourself.

"Yours respectfully,

"LOUIS J. LE FEBEVRE,

"JOHN HEILMANN."

ATHENS, ALA., June 27, 1891.

DEAR SIR—In the spring of 1862 I was captured at Fort Donaldson and was taken to Lafayette, Ind. The two weeks that we remained there we had plenty to eat and were well cared for. I was then moved to Camp Morton, Indianapolis, Ind., and there we fared well; really had much more than we needed. We drew so much bread that we could not make use of it. We piled it up until we had such a quantity that we played foot-ball with the loaves and had them hauled away. We had good fires, and no one suffered from cold. We were also treated well by the guards; and from what I can learn there were about 2,000 of us prisoners, and none were mistreated, for I was all over the Camp. I was a private in Company A, Forty first Tennessee Regiment.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN M. WARREN.

P. S.—The above are facts simply stated, which I can prove by numerous comrades who were there.

Dr. Kitchen says that for several years after the close of the war he received quite frequently letters from ex-prisoners, and he furnishes the following as a fair sample of those received:

CONNERSVILLE, TENN., Feb. 22, 1866.

DEAR SIR—Do you ever think of Wilkes, and wonder what has become of him? Rest assured that I have never forgotten you

nor shaken off the debt of gratitude that I owe you for your kindness to me while I was a prisoner of war. I have seen and endured a great many trying times since then, times of trouble and disappointment; but the many acts of kindness and courtesy of which I was the recipient from you and others are all fresh in my memory. Your grateful friend,

W. H. WILKES.

None are more competent witnesses as to the charge of cruel and inhuman treatment than were the gentlemen who composed the medical corps of the Union Army. They were men of both political parties, but party affiliations or views were buried in their zeal in the discharge of their professional duties. Even Dr. John A. Wyeth is compelled to testify as to the magnificent hospital arrangements of Camp Morton, under whose shelter he says he "spent several months." There could be none who would discover this cruel and inhuman treatment of the prisoners more quickly than the physicians and surgeons who were in charge. If starvation was the cause, or if it were in any way even a contributing cause of the sickness or death of any number, however small, these surgeons would have been quick to detect it and make complaint to the proper authorities and have the evil removed. They would have been only too eager to ferret out the trouble and bring the guilty parties to an accounting. We submit in this connection the following statement of Dr. J. W. Hervey, a long-time resident of Indianapolis, Ind. He writes as follows:

I was surgeon in charge at Burnside Barracks during the time embraced in the charges of cruelty and starvation made by Dr. Wyeth, and I certainly had opportunity to learn whether or not these charges are true. With all of my opportunity I am willing to be qualified that none of the charges of cruelty or starvation or of any unkind treatment of Confederate soldiers ever came to my knowledge.

The men who did guard duty there were under my charge for medical services. They belonged to the Veteran Reserve Corps. All

of them had been disabled by wounds or sickness, while in active service. A braver, more generous and soldierly command I never met. Colonel Stevens, who commanded these men, was a brave, generous, warm hearted Democrat, loyal to our, the Union, cause; but he was a true friend to the Confederate prisoners. I have heard him say more than once that he would fight these men to the death to defend his country, and would fight for their protection when prisoners. Many of the Veteran Reserve Corps had been prisoners themselves, and knew how to feel for the Confederates. I have heard the men say, who guarded Camp Morton, that the prisoners had more to eat than they had. To call these brave men cowards, is a slander; to make this charge after most of them are in their graves, is an insult to public sentiment.

On the cold night of January 1, 1864, our guards came in with frozen feet and hands and great frozen patches on their faces. One man died from that night's duty; others were so injured that they had to be discharged.

If any of the prisoners were shot at, it was for attempting to escape and refusing to halt when ordered. Some of the prisoners were very revengeful and used insulting language; threw stones and other missiles at the guards. Wyeth acknowledges that they did this when they made an attempt to escape. Our men were hit with these missiles may times.

The silly charge that a comrade paid fifteen cents for an ear of corn, only proves that the giver was a fool. Every one knows that any boy would have brought him all he wanted for a cent each. Grave charge, this, to make against the authorities. They stole each other's rations, Wyeth acknowledged, and traded for tobacco. This might have caused some to go hungry. If the prisoners ate out of the slop barrel it is no credit to them and no discredit to Camp Morton, and no credit to Wyeth. The men must have been gluttons if they suffered for something to eat, for I am satisfied that enough was issued. Governor Morton would never have gone to bed had these men been starved or not fully provided for, till the wrong was made right. No one who knows anything of the circumstances could be made believe that the prisoners ever suffered for something to eat while in Camp Morton, unless it was for some other cause than that of the neglect or refusal of the authorities to issue supplies, for supplies were issued in abundance. Prisoners were often sent there before good quarters and other accommodations could be arranged. For this, no one was to blame; this was the fortune of war. I paid fifty cents for a cup of buttermilk down in Dixie and slept cold and hungry, as did many a

brave comrade. It would be very silly to get up a pictorial illustration of our wrongs after thirty years have passed, and all the past differences have been buried, and all are anxious to forget the causes of our sufferings.

I found a greater death rate among Confederate soldiers who came under my charge in hospitals in the Southern States. This was often mentioned by surgeons of our army, and was attributable to the better condition of the general health of Northern men, who were, as a rule, better protected by warm and dry clothing. Our Union soldiers were tough, wiry men, raised to hard work and active lives, which gave them more recuperative energies than men of the South, many of whom never did a day's work in a life-time.

That some wrongs and some suffering may have existed at Camp Morton, we are too liberal to deny; that some of our men did wrong at times, may be true; that they were more to blame for it than the prisoners, I will not admit; that the authorities were to blame, that they starved or permitted cruelty, is a falsehood of great proportions.

Says Dr. G. C. Smythe, President of the Indiana State Medical Society, and a resident of Greencastle, Indiana:

Candor compels me to assert that every material allegation in his (Wyeth's) article is false. I was the surgeon in charge of the Forty-third Indiana Regiment which was on guard duty at Camp Morton, from June, 1864, until the close of the war. I was frequently in Camp Morton, all through the quarters and hospital, and I say now that the quarters, rations and hospital supplies were the same, or equally as good, as our own troops had.

Charles J. Kipp, M. D., late Brevet Lieut.-Colonel and Surgeon U. S. V., now a resident of Newark, N. J., writes in answer to the charges of Dr. John A. Wyeth:

I entered the service as Acting Surgeon, U. S. A., June 10, 1862; was appointed Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A., May 14, 1863, and promoted to Major and Surgeon, U. S. A., March, 1864. I received the rank of Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, U. S. A., for meritorious service March, 1865, and was mustered out of service November 1, 1867. I had charge of Military Prison Hospital, Camp Morton, from February, 1864, to June, 1865. In the fall of 1864 a new hospital was built, after my own plan, with room for five hundred patients. This hospital was furnished in the same style as the hospital for

our own men, and provided with everything necessary for the proper care of the sick. The diet was the same as that given in the military hospital to our own men, and delicacies were given freely to all whose condition required them. The patients were under the care of skillful physicians and were nursed by men selected from among their comrades by reason of their aptitude for this work. All army surgeons who visited us pronounced the hospital a model one.

With regard to the food issued to the prisoners in charge, I am unable to say more than that I was repeatedly assured by the officers on duty that the prisoners received the full ration authorized by the Commissary General of Prisoners. I have no personal knowledge of the eating of rats and dogs by the prisoners.

It seems needless for me to say anything here about the sickness and the death among the prisoners, as a summary of all the reports from 1863 to 1865 is published in the Medical and Surgical History of the War. I may state, however, that I do not think that any one was frozen to death while I was at Camp Morton though we had many cases of frost-bite and numerous cases of inflammation of the lungs. The statement of the author of the article on Camp Morton in the *Century Magazine* that he saw eighteen bodies carried (from the barracks) to the dead-house, only shows the untrustworthiness of his memory. Unfortunately I have not a copy of the reports of deaths prior to January, 1864, but from those in my possession it appears that the greatest number of deaths occurring on any one day, was eleven (in February, 1865), and that not one of these deaths occurred in the barracks. A large number of the prisoners died also in January and February of 1864, but on no day did the number exceed eight; and all these deaths occurred, also, in the hospital. Indeed, if the copies of the report in my possession are correct, and I have no reason to doubt that they are, only two prisoners died in the barracks between June 1, 1864, and June, 1865. The reports, moreover, state that one of them died of disease of the heart, and the other of congestion of the lungs.

Further, concerning the hospitals and hospital treatment. I quote from Medical Volume, Part III, pages 53 and 54, the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, in reference to Camp Morton:

In December, 1863, the hospital department was much improved by the erection of two new pavilion buildings, by which the air

space was increased to 550 cubic feet. In July, 1864, these buildings were described as follows: "The hospital buildings are four in number, one 114 x 20 and 12 feet high; one 100 x 20 and 12 feet high; one 40 x 20 and 11 feet 3 inches high; and one 90 x 24 and 14 feet high. Furniture good and sufficient. In addition, a mess-room 30 x 24 feet, 12 feet high, and good kitchen accommodations.

The diet in both prison and hospital was good and sufficient; vegetables were freely used, and the hospital fund liberally expended in the purchase of delicacies for the sick. Soft bread of excellent quality was issued daily from the post bakery.

I prefer to quote the whole paragraph rather than divide it, and place the last section under the answer to the charge of starvation. In the article "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton," and also the "Rejoinder," it is sought to convey the impression that the great cause of sickness was found in the limited supply of rations. And yet the sickness is accounted for on a far different theory by the very best medical and surgical authorities during the war.

Page 70, Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion, Part III, Medical Volume:

In summing up the results of this study of the inspection reports of the prison depots, it may be said that the hardships and exposures entailed on the men by the military events that ended in their capture, were the main causes of the disease and mortality with which they were afflicted during their subsequent confinement. The hurried marches, want of sleep, deficient rations and exposure in all kinds of weather, by night and by day, that preceded and attended the hostile meeting of armies, result in larger losses by disease than those that are directly attributed to the engagement. And as the wounded of a defeated army are more exposed to capture than the uninjured, so the exhausted and debilitated rather than the vigorous become included in the lists of prisoners of war.

Fatigues and exposures en route to the prison depots supplemented those already endured, in exhausting their strength and producing sickness. The prisoners seldom carried from the field a sufficiency of clothing and blankets to protect them from ordinary weather changes, and to these the journey frequently added changes of a climatic character.

The depression of spirits consequent on defeat and capture, the homesickness of the prisoners, the despondency caused by scenes of suffering around them, the gloomy and vacuous present, and the uncertainty of the future, conspired to render every cause of disease more potent in its action.

But the evil influences exercised by the camp conditions would not have been followed by the same sickness and mortality had the ground and shelters been crowded to the same extent with well disciplined troops awaiting the opening of a campaign. *The broken health and broken spirits of the inmates were the main factors in the production of disease and death.*

Let the experience and observation of every soldier of either army answer on this subject as to the correctness of this statement of the medical authorities. We, as soldiers in the field, know that the fortunes of battle had much to do both with our mental and physical condition. More than this, if the one-tenth part of "the stories" of the Southern press, and the eulogists of the Lost Cause be true as to hardships and privations of the Southern soldier as to his life in the field, he was illy clad, illy fed, and illy cared for in every respect, because there was both a scarcity of rations and a scarcity of clothing of every kind. We who saw the camps of the enemy, and we who saw the prisoners whom we aided in taking captive know that they were poorly fed and poorly clothed, and we say this not to their disparagement as soldiers, but as a fact that tended to their physical weakening, sickness and ultimate death. But of this I shall speak more fully in reply to the "Rejoinder" of Dr. Wyeth in the September *Century*.

Says William J. Robie, now a resident of Richmond, Indiana:

I was a member of Company E, Sixtieth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry stationed at Indianapolis in the summer and fall of 1864 guarding rebel prisoners at Camp Morton. I was in and out of the camp nearly every day, and was stationed on guard at the hospital and at different parts of the camp dozens of times. I

therefore had an excellent opportunity to witness some of the "terrible"(?) things that Dr. Wyeth speaks about in his article in the *Century Magazine.*

I know that the hospital tents were kept just as clean and nice as they could be. Of course they were pretty full all the time that I was there, and our own boys used to speak about them, saying that while our sick were lying on the ground or boards in camp, "Johnny Rebs" were having plenty of straw and some of them cots to sleep on.

J. W. Hosman, who was a hospital steward at Camp Morton from early in 1863 to 1865, says:

When the prisoners first came, pen can not picture their condition, nor shall I try to, but it is sufficient to say that they were almost entirely destitute of clothing, and what they did have was covered with graybacks and filth. Many of them had no shoes at all, and all of them presented a very pitiful picture and caused the remark to be made at the time, "If this is a picture of the army of the Southern Confederacy it must surely be on its last legs." Hundreds were seriously wounded, many were sick and as nearly dead as alive when they arrived, and while the mortality at that time was very great, the only wonder is that more did not die, as a result of their hardships and wounds received in battle. The hospital was filled at once with the sick and wounded, and every medical attention was given them that was possible to be given under the circumstances. As there was not room enough to accommodate all the sick in the hospital buildings, tents were put up and used temporarily until other buildings could be erected. Dr. Funkhouser was then surgeon in charge of the hospitals, and when Dr. Wyeth makes the statement that the prisoners were allowed to die for want of medical attention, he reflects on the character and standing of such men as Dr. Funkhouser, R. N. and L. L. Todd and Dr. W. B. Fletcher, all well known to this community, besides Dr. J. B. Johnson who relieved Dr. Funkhouser as surgeon in charge, and also Major Kipp, United States Surgeon, who succeeded Dr. Johnson.

And now a word in regard to supply of medicines. We had all that was needed, and the patients received just what the doctors prescribed for them, even to their diet. This I know to a certainty, for I was in a position to know. Besides the surgeon in charge and corps of ward surgeons, there were in the hospital

Drs. Bingham and D. A. Bronson, both private soldiers, but regular physicians; also Dr. Arington, a prisoner and a gentleman rated by our doctors as a first-class physician.

BARRACKS: FREEZING.

The author of "Cold Cheer" says, in speaking of the barracks, "The planks had shrunk and many of the strips had disappeared, leaving wide cracks, through which the winds whistled and the rain and the snow beat in upon us. I have often seen my *top* blanket white with snow when we hustled out for morning roll-call." And so from this statement he goes on from bad to worse until he reports eighteen as having frozen to death in one night. The date to a day, however, is not stated. A sweeping declaration that it occurred "after an intensely cold night." That the 31st of December, 1863, and the 1st day of January, 1864, were unprecedentedly cold, is true; true not only at Camp Morton, but on the banks of the Tennessee and the Holston, and in the mountains of East Tennessee, as many of us know who campaigned in the winter of 1863 and 1864 after the battles of Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, in our marching to the relief of our troops who had been hemmed in at Knoxville, and in pursuit of Longstreet's troops after the siege had been raised. In that locality, in a winter campaign, without barracks, clearing away the snow from the ground, we pitched our shelter tents as best we could and braved the winter through; and the same rigorous climate our comrades found in Northern Virginia. But the prisoners did *not* have to endure the rigors of winter as we did. It was not expected, nor was it just, that they should. We beg leave to furnish testimony on this question, perhaps fully as reliable as that furnished by Dr. John A. Wyeth, on his personal statement, or of his associates who at this late day, for the first time, testify through the *Century*.

Says Captain E. R. Johnson, now a resident of Bedford, Ind., then Assistant Commissary of Prisons at Camp Morton:

The barracks were boarded up and down, and the cracks between the boards were well stripped, so that neither snow nor rain could blow in, and they had stoves and an abundance of wood to keep them comfortable. The bunks were well supplied with an abundance of good straw*, and each prisoner had at least one blanket, and most of them two or three.† As to any of them being frozen to death, I never heard of one single case while I was in charge of the camp, and it was my business to inspect the entire camp every morning, and had there been any such fatality I should certainly have known of it. As to getting up and brushing off the snow to attend roll-call, it is absolutely untrue. Roll-call was at 8 A. M.

On this question of barracks and freezing I refer to statement of Hospital Steward Hosman, who has been previously mentioned:

The barracks where the prisoners were confined were just the same as the ones that were occupied by our own men who guarded the prisoners, and were made as comfortable as such buildings could be. Plenty of straw was supplied to the prisoners for bunks. Fuel also was furnished in quantities even more liberal than to our own men. Blankets and clothing were furnished to all prisoners that were in need of them. This I saw, and know that six thousand blankets were issued in one day, and if Dr. Wyeth never received a blanket or any clothing while there, it was because he was more fortunate than many others by having friends who sent them him from home. "Frozen to death in Camp Morton, eighteen in one night," so says Dr. Wyeth. This assertion is not worthy of much notice, for any one of ordinary intelligence must know it to be false, and made by one who surely knew it to be false when he wrote it, for stoves were provided and furnished warmth to all in the barracks.

L. W. Collins, now a resident of St. Cloud, Minnesota, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, says:

---

*See report of issues further on.

†Notice Wyeth speaks of his *top blanket*.

In December, 1863, at Vicksburg Mississippi, with a small detail of my regiment, the Seventh Minnesota, then stationed at St. Louis, I was ordered to take charge of and to deliver to the authorities at Camp Morton about forty Confederate officers, prisoners of war, then confined in the Vicksburg jail.

We arrived at the camp on the morning of December 30, and, on account of a severe snow-storm which blockaded the railways, my detail remained longer than was anticipated.

We occupied a part of the barracks which had been built for prisoners and for guards; precisely the same kind of quarters, no better and no worse, low frame buildings, battened upon the outside, unplastered but well whitewashed and with good roofs. They were much more comfortable than the tents in which my regiment had spent nearly all of the month of December, 1862, near Mankato, Minn.

I have no doubt that prisoners suffered seriously from the elements in the winter of 1863–64. So did the camp guard and the men of my detail while occupying the barracks, for the winter was unequaled in its severity. When we attempted to join our command at St. Louis on January 2, we found the Mississippi river frozen over. The men of my regiment on guard duty in the city all that winter suffered much more from the cold than they had the previous winter while performing the same kind of duty at Mankato, in this State. It was an exceptionally severe winter in the Northern States, and the quarters at Camp Morton, whether used by friend or foe, were not built for such weather. It was wholly unexpected by the authorities.

Admitting, as every one does, that the weather on the 31st of December, 1863, was most terribly cold, and that the prisoners in Camp Morton were not furnished with elegant brick or stone hotels, with all the modern appliances for warmth and comfort in cold weather, if Dr. John A. Wyeth was possessed of a desire to tell the truth in regard to prison life in Camp Morton, why does he not state at the same time that he tells of the fearful cold and snow, what was done by the authorities to relieve these poor unfortunate prisoners of war, for poor and unfortunate they really were; the fortunes of war made them that. Why not tell the truth, that while it was cold, freezing

cold, that the Union officers and soldiers did all in their power to mitigate their sufferings and give them comfort?

Captain L. L. Moore, now of Jeffersonville, Indiana, writes that:

During the month of September, 1862, I was ordered by the War Department to report to General (then Captain) James A. Ekin, A. Q. M., for assignment to duty at Camp Morton as A. Q. M. and A. C. S. I never heard any complaints, or suffering for want of rations or comfort, except on the night of December 31, 1863, when an unparalleled cold wave struck the camp, and we made superhuman efforts to secure blankets, which we issued that night to each division as they marched by Headquarters, giving to each man an extra blanket. We also furnished a double ration of wood, and Captain Ekin made a raid on the wood yards of the city, for supplies, building large camp-fires, available to all the prisoners. Everything possible was done to alleviate suffering humanity. Our troops suffered greatly. The rebel prisoners, of course, had not sufficient clothing, as they came into camp in a dilapidated condition.

In this same connection, before citing the evidence of any others, we deem it a fitting place to set out what is shown as to issues of wood and straw to prisoners at Camp Morton during the winter months just now under discussion. The official reports of Captain L. L. Moore, now on file in the Quartermaster-General's office, show the following issues:

November, 1863, wood, 542 cords; straw, 16,000 pounds.
December, 1863, wood, 675 cords; straw, 24,376 pounds.
January, 1864, wood, 600 cords; straw, 12,988 pounds.
Issued by Captain Nat Shurtleff, A. Q. M.
February, 1864, wood, 560 cords; straw, 8,818 pounds.

In this connection and with reference to issues of rations issued at the same period, showing that it was not from lack of proper food that they suffered from cold, I wish to call attention to the number of prisoners in Camp Morton in the months just named, and the number here reported, is taken from the records of the War Department:

November, 1863, prisoners, daily average, 2,583: 30 days, total number of rations, 77,500.

December, 1863, prisoners, daily average, 2,896: 31 days, total number of rations, 89,797.

January, 1864, prisoners, daily average, 2,918: 31 days, total number of rations, 90,463.

February, 1864, prisoners, daily average, 2,861: 28 days, total number of rations, 80,108.

The rations issued to prisoners during the months just named, were the same in quantity and quality as those issued to the U. S. troops in accordance with regulations, and consisted of bacon, fresh beef, fresh bread, hard bread, beans, potatoes, rice, hominy, coffee (roasted), tea, sugar, vinegar, candles, soap, salt, black pepper, and molasses. Follow these figures with the further statement of Judge L. W. Collins, of Minnesota, from whose letter we have before quoted, bearing in mind that he was at Camp Morton just in the severest weather of December, 1863, and January, 1864. He says:

On going to the Commissary to draw rations, I was agreeably surprised to find two well-known Minnesotans, one the Chief Commissary, Captain (Doctor) Thomas Foster, the other his clerk, Edward F. Parker, Esq., formerly of Hastings, and later, until his decease, a few years since, a prominent attorney and citizen of Duluth. With Mr. Parker as a guide, I visited every part of the prisoners' quarters, and had an excellent opportunity to observe the appearance of those confined, as well as the manner in which they were generally treated. I found the quarters surprisingly well kept, and the prisoners in as good spirits and as cleanly as could be expected. I talked with quite a number on general subjects, as well as their prospect for an exchange and the manner in which they were fed. I found every man eager to go back to his regiment in the field and to help his comrades fight for Southern independence. If complaints were made as to the quantity of food furnished, they did not reach my ears. I had brought there Captain James Bonner, of Arkansas, while he endeavored to find a cousin, also a prisoner, and whom he at last found, with the assistance of Judge Parker, in the hospital, as comfortable a place for the sick as I ever saw outside of some well-kept army hospitals in

the large cities. If any of the men suffered for the want of food the fact was most skillfully concealed; it was not apparent in their general appearance, nor could it be discovered by those who visited the kitchens, or who were present when the rations were distributed; and it was not an uncommon thing for the camp to be visited by men who would have detected the wrong if it was being perpetrated. If the prisoners at Camp Morton were swindled out of the rations provided for them, the officers in charge were responsible.

I can not believe that the Commissary before mentioned, or his clerk, Judge Parker, will be accused of such an outrage by those who knew them.

When or where could men who were suffering from the freezing blasts, and the winter snows, starving for lack of sufficient food, dying for lack of proper nourishment, have had a better opportunity to tell their "tale of woe?" With this officer making the rounds of the prison was a new prisoner, a Confederate officer, who was looking for, and found, a relative that had been in prison for some time, yet when they meet, there is no report of terrible suffering for lack of food, no reports of men having frozen to death. Is it possible, is it within reason or common sense, to believe that most remarkable, nay more, astounding outrages and deaths could have occurred as related by Dr. Wyeth? Those were conditions and events which, if indeed true, must have been known not to a few only, but to all of the 2,900 prisoners then in Camp Morton, for if the statement of Dr. Wyeth be true, the frozen bodies must have been carried out in the presence of the entire camp, since he, Wyeth, says *he* saw them carried out. The Confederate Captain Bonner, remained at Camp Morton a prisoner and had ample time to have learned the entire history of the sufferings in the barracks and the story of the frozen men, and yet Judge Collins says:

After the war I received several letters from Captain Bonner before mentioned, now dead, in which he spoke of the fair treatment received by him while a prisoner at Camp Morton and at Johnson's Island.

J. B. McCurdy, a resident of Oskaloosa, Iowa, first a member of the Twenty-eighth Iowa Regiment, afterward transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, was with his command when it was assigned to duty at Camp Morton, September 8, 1863, and remained there for twenty months, or during all the time Wyeth was a prisoner. Mr. McCurdy had charge of the roll-call of one of the divisions in one of the barracks, and he says, "John A. Wyeth slept in my barrack, No. 4, and answered roll-call in Division 7." So here we have one who can locate the author of " Cold Cheer," and we can ascertain just how the prisoners fared, not throughout the camp, but in the very locality where young John A. Wyeth had his bunk. He cites the statement of Wyeth in regard to the intensely cold weather, and says:

The doctor's assertion of counting eighteen dead bodies carried out one morning into the dead-house after a severe cold night is not correct. He may have counted, but they were not there from cold or heat. The highest number of deaths in one day, by official record, was nine. Comrade Thomas Brown, of Shelby, Iowa, writes me that he does not remember more than five in one day. January 1, 1864, ushered the new year in very cold, and the suffering therefrom was chiefly on the part of guards. I notice my memoranda refers to many of the guards having frozen ears, feet, etc.

Comrade Bateman reminds me that two of the guards at the entry gate of the prison afterwards died as a result from their exposures at that time. I would gladly have exchanged sleeping in a tent that winter at Camp Burnside for a bunk in a barrack, as good even as Dr. Wyeth has complained of.

Their barracks were well enclosed, embanked, and each entertaining, more or less, three hundred prisoners, with four stoves to heat. I think it hardly probable that they would freeze when a stove had to radiate *only ten feet.*

Fresh straw was taken into Camp Morton every day and issued where needed, and from one or more times a week their bunks, barracks and themselves underwent strict inspection.

In regard to the manner of heating the barracks of the

prisoners, we learn from those who were there and had charge of the camp, the barracks were eighty feet in length by thirty in breadth and stoves were every twenty feet, or four to each of these barracks. The farthest away from any of the stoves that any one could get was ten feet, through the length of the building, or fifteen feet from the center line to the sides of the building, even if one went against the wall, but one could not get against the wall unless he went into one of the bunks, as the bunks were placed in tiers along the sides. Taking the following plan as the inside of the barracks an idea is given as to the situation of stoves:

Dr. P. H. Jameson, who was one of the surgeons at Camp Morton, says:

I remember those stoves. They were of the regulation camp pattern, large, cast-iron box affairs, taking in a four-foot stick of wood. There was an abundant supply of wood in the camp all the time.

We have already stated as to the extra wood that was issued during the months of November and December, 1863, January and February, 1864.

Robert D. Sears, who was Captain of Company I, Forty-third Indiana Veteran Volunteers, now a resident of Indianapolis and in business with the large printing establishment of W. B. Burford, states that their regiment was at the front and in active service in the field until the summer of 1864, when the regiment "veteranized" and they were returned to Camp Morton about the middle of the summer; and on or about the first of September, 1864, his regiment was ordered on duty at Camp Burnside, which

was the camp for the guards at Camp Morton, and was on duty there continuously until June, 1865, at which time their regiment was mustered out of service.

Captain Sears states:

I was Officer of the Day two or three times each week; the orders of General Stevens, who was then in command at Camp Morton, required that the Officer of the Day and the Officer of the Guard should visit the quarters of the prisoners each day, and not only each day, but that they should go through the prison portion of the camp at twelve o'clock at night, to see that everything was in order and that peace and quiet reigned. They were required to visit the hospitals and see that every one of the patients were looked after, and report any delinquencies on the part of other officers or enlisted men who were on duty at the hospital. The hospitals were always in the very best condition possible during the time that I was in camp. They were under the charge of Surgeon Kipp, and he was untiring in his efforts for the welfare of every man who was sent to the hospital.

In the winter time stoves were furnished for the barracks in sufficient numbers, and with a sufficient amount of fuel to keep the barracks comfortable and in good condition. During all of the time that I was at Camp Morton, no one, to my knowledge, was frozen to death because of not having sufficient fuel or bedding to keep him warm. Neither did I during all the time that I was at Camp Morton, ever hear any intimation from any prisoner or other party connected with the Camp, that anyone had been frozen to death prior to the time that our regiment went on duty at Camp Morton.

Captain John W. Cooper, Company H, Forty-third Indiana, on duty with his company and regiment at Camp Morton from the 1st of September, 1864, until 1865, entered the service in the Tenth Indiana Infantry in April, 1861, at the first call and served through the first three months' service, and re-enlisted in the Forty-third regiment, in the fall of 1861, and served until the close of the war, and with his regiment in all its campaigns and battles. He is now a citizen of Indianapolis and one of the most respected and reliable business men of the city. He says:

I was on duty as "Officer of the Day" at least once each week during all the time my regiment was on duty there, and was frequently in and through Camp Morton and talked with the prisoners. I know that it would have been an absolute impossibility for any of the prisoners to have frozen to death while I was there without its coming to my knowledge, and I never heard that any prisoner had frozen to death. There was an abundance of fuel during all of the winter, and the stoves were large enough to heat the barracks and make them comfortable.

I say, most positively, that no order was ever issued forbidding the men to wear their clothing when they were compelled to go to the sinks at night, nor was there any such thing required.

I never heard of any such orders ever having been in existence, nor did I ever hear of anyone having been shot or killed by Corporal Baker or by any other of the officers or guards. If at any time such cruelty or hardship had occurred in the camp I would have heard of it, for the following reason, if for no other: On the 4th of July, 1863, my regiment captured Bell's Arkansas regiment at Helena, Ark., and the circumstances of their capture after the Arkansas regiment had charged the works of the Forty-third Indiana, were such that before they separated and the Arkansas troops were sent away as prisoners, they had become quite well acquainted. These prisoners were sent to Camp Morton, and when, a little more than a year afterward, the Forty-third Indiana came to Camp Morton for duty, they found their captured Arkansas regiment. The Arkansas men greeted them as old acquaintances, and the men of the two regiments talked with each other a great deal and were on very friendly relations. I talked with some of these men every time I was in or about camp. They had been in Camp Morton from the time they were sent North as prisoners in July, 1863, and yet there was never any statement made in my presence or hearing concerning any prisoners having frozen to death at any time, nor of any having been killed or crippled in camp, other than those who had made the attempt to escape.

From all of the men I heard the general expression that they had been well treated, had plenty to eat and were comfortably provided.

To publish the letters in full that were received in answer to my communications, would require too much space, and I give only the statements that bear directly on the questions at issue.

David Powell, a resident of Indianapolis since 1859, and on duty at Indianapolis during all the war, as a city officer and Deputy United States Marshal, now the overland excursion agent of the Southern Pacific Railroad between Boston and San Francisco, says that from the time the first prisoners were brought into Indianapolis until the last ones were sent away, he was at Camp Morton two or three times a week, though on no duty connected with the camp; that he had some acquaintances among the first prisoners, and through them became acquainted with others; that he formed the acquaintance of a great many during the time of the use of Camp Morton as a prison camp; that from the beginning until the close of the camp he never knew or heard of any one freezing to death; that he was in Camp Morton during the extremely cold weather in the last of December, 1863, and the first of January, 1864; that, while it was intensely cold outside, the prisoners had plenty of fuel, and the big stoves in the barracks were kept hot and the prisoners comfortable. "There is," Mr. Powell says, "absolutely no truth in the statement that prisoners froze to death in Camp Morton; it could not have been, or I would have heard of it." In regard to the killing of any man in Camp Morton by Corporal Baker, or any one else, he says that such a thing could not have happened and all the world outside not have known of it. Never, in all his conversation with the prisoners, did he at any time hear even a rumor that any one had been killed.

Captain Joseph J. Pope, then Captain and A. Q. M. on duty at the Indianapolis post, and the officer who issued to the A. Q. M. and A. C. S. at Camp Morton, and now the Quartermaster General of Indiana, and a resident of Indianapolis, says: "There is no foundation whatever for the statement that prisoners froze to death. It could not have been and the officers and men on duty not know it. I was through Camp Morton every day during the extremely

cold weather in the winter of 1863 and 1864; was at the quarters of the prisoners, talked with prisoners, but never a word was spoken of any one having frozen to death, nor did I ever hear of any one having been killed, other than those who were killed in the attempt to escape, and they were killed on the outside."

Elijah Hedges, a resident of Indianapolis since 1854, an undertaker, says that when the prisoners of war were first brought here, he was in business with Weaver & Williams, Undertakers. That his firm had the contract for burying the dead of Camp Morton, and that this firm buried all of the dead, or prepared them for burial in cases where they were sent to their friends, as some were. He has a record of every man who died. That he knows there was not a single prisoner frozen to death at Camp Morton during all of the cold of January, 1864.

He says: "The dead were all put into receiving boxes, and if they had been frozen this could not have been done." "No," he says, "I know that no man was frozen to death at Camp Morton."

In regard to the number of deaths, he says that "during the cold weather the prisoners seemed to be well, and there was a less number of deaths than at any other time. That the highest number of deaths that ever occurred in any one day was nine; this was on January 21, 1864, but that these men were not frozen to death; they all died in the hospital."

In reference to men being shot, he says, "there was never any one killed at Camp Morton excepting at the time the prisoners tried to escape, and those who were killed were killed outside of the camp. No one was killed in camp by any soldier or guard."

The same statement is made by General Stevens and every man or officer who was on duty at Camp Morton or who visited the camp, whom I have been able to reach. We could give the statements of a large number of these officers and men, but it would be only cumulative evidence,

and we feel that we have given sufficient, on this score, to fully disabuse the minds of the most credulous readers of Dr. Wyeth's account of the freezing and killing of prisoners. The reports at the War Department show that the highest recorded number of deaths in any one day (twenty-four hours) was nine, and there is no report, whatever, of any one having frozen to death at any time at Camp Morton.

CRUEL TREATMENT.

The charges made in "Cold Cheer" against the soldiers who did duty at Camp Morton from 1863 to the close of the rebellion, are malacious, unjust and untrue in so far as such charges affect their soldierly qualities. The officers and men of the Veteran Reserve Corps, as is well known to every Union soldier and citizen who has any knowledge of the history of that organization, were men whose courage and bravery had been thoroughly tested. On more than one battle-field they had met foemen as brave and daring as any who were prisoners in Camp Morton. The Fifth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps was composed of soldiers who had served from one to two years in the field. Many of the men carried the marks of the bullet or sabre stroke, and the records show that there was not an officer in the entire regiment who had not been wounded, many of them having lost an arm or leg in the service. The Seventeenth Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps, was also on duty at Camp Morton from the autumn of 1863 until the close of the war, and the statement made in regard to the Fifth Regiment is equally true of the Seventeenth Regiment.

The Forty-third Regiment, Indiana Veteran Volunteers, was another of the regiments that was on duty at Camp Morton from September, 1864, until June, 1865. What shall be said of it? Organized and mustered into the

United States service September 27, 1861, this regiment was almost immediately thereafter sent into Kentucky for active duty. In February, 1862, it was transferred to General Pope's army, in Missouri, and was engaged in the siege of New Madrid and Island No. 10. It was afterward detailed for duty with Commodore Foot's gun-boat fleet in the reduction of Fort Pillow, serving sixty-nine days in that campaign. It was the first Union regiment to enter the city of Memphis, and with the Forty-sixth Indiana, constituted the entire force, holding the city until reinforced two weeks later. In July, 1862, the Forty-third was ordered up the White River, Arkansas, and subsequently to Helena. In December, 1862, it went with General Hovey's expedition to Grenada, Mississippi, thence to Yazoo Pass. At the battle of Helena, July 4, 1863, the regiment distinguished itself by its gallantry and dash. In the fight that day it alone supported a battery that was charged three times most desperately, and each time repulsed the attack, and finally it won greater renown, at the closing of the day, by capturing a Confederate regiment much larger and stronger than itself. It was in General Steele's campaign against Little Rock, Arkansas, and aided in capturing that place. January 1, 1864, it veteranized, and was remustered with about four hundred men. It was afterward in the battles of Ekin's Ford, Jenkins' Ferry, Camden and Marks' Mills. At Marks' Mills, the brigade to which it was attached, while guarding a train of four hundred wagons from Camden to Pine Bluff, was furiously attacked by about six thousand cavalry under Marmaduke. Fighting against great odds, the Forty-third lost nearly two hundred in killed, wounded and missing—almost half their men. On the 10th of June, 1864, it was returned to Indianapolis on veteran furlough. While on furlough, and relieved from duty, this regiment volunteered to go to Frankfort, Kentucky, then threatened by Morgan's cavalry, and did

go and remained there until the Confederate forces left central Kentucky. *En route*, on its return, the regiment had a fight with Jesse's guerrillas near Eminence, Kentucky. Certainly, a worthy soldier record. What shall we say of the officers who had command of the Camp—General A. A. Stevens, General Alvin P. Hovey and the others—each of these men whose courage and bravery had been put to the highest test on more than one field of carnage and death?

But once, and then only for a short time, was there any organization not composed of veterans on duty in or about Camp Morton—the Sixtieth Regiment Massachusetts, a one hundred day regiment. It was through this regiment that the escape of the prisoners, of which Wyeth speaks, was made, in which not a single prisoner was hurt. The great cruelty and slaughter charged against the guards was when in other trials to break camp or escape through the tunnels, some of the prisoners who were engaged in the attempt were killed. Of this Wyeth complains most bitterly. There were some prisoners who were daring and courageous enough to make an effort to escape, and some of them were killed in the attempt. Is it strange that men who have been in the front and have there been taught by precept and example that guards have a duty to perform, and that, when their duty embraced the safe keeping of prisoners committed to their care, they would perform it, even though it might require the taking of life in order to hold them? Is it strange that they should *shoot* when prisoners undertook, by storming the guard with rocks and bottles, to run the guard line? Would not the author of "Cold Cheer" have done the same thing? It is no more strange that when the guard is carefully performing his duty and discovers that a tunnel has been run under the guard line and the prisoners are beginning to come through that tunnel, that he should employ vigorous means to prevent the escape, and should even shoot and kill in order to prevent

the escape. We can not get far enough removed from the war, and the experiences of the men who saw active service, to class the performance of *duty* by a soldier in the list of crimes, even though life was taken.

Again, he cites the case of two men who were mortally wounded by a guard, and he speaks of this case as if it were passed by without notice by the authorities as a matter of too little consequence to be heeded. Does not Dr. Wyeth know that this case was tried by a court-martial, and that every fact attainable was brought out in that trial? If he did not know these facts when he made the allegation and denounced the soldier as a murderer, we may justly presume that the other charges made by him are equally unfounded or untrue, and have been made without proper investigation of all the facts. What were the facts in this case? The prisoners, from time to time, were sent, under guard, outside the camp with the garbage wagon to be emptied into Fall Creek. Attempts had been made from time to time to escape. Wyeth in his "Cold Cheer" reports that on one occasion five prisoners *overpowered* the two guards that were in charge, and escaped; at another time one of the detail broke away and was killed. On the occasion referred to, where the two men were killed, it is claimed by the writer of "Cold Cheer" that the two men who were mortally wounded, were not trying to escape at the time they were shot by the guard. This shooting occurred April 16, 1864. The prisoners who were killed were James Beattie, Company B, Fourth Florida, and Michael Healy, Company B, Thirtieth Mississippi. The facts brought out in the trial of the soldier for killing these two men, as related by William H. H. McCurdy, a reputable and well-known citizen of Indianapolis, who was clerk of the district court-martial that tried the prisoner, are these:

Several prisoners, guarded by two members of the Veteran Reserve Corps, one of whom was William H. Allen, were sent out

with the garbage wagon. Allen was a young and excitable man who had seen but little service. He was walking behind a detail of prisoners, who were required to march in the rear of the wagon. The prisoners stepped out of the road to the left and moved quickly up to the side of the wagon. The guard ordered them to fall back to their places, and at the same time brought his musket to a "charge bayonets," cocking it with his thumb as he brought it down. He claimed that in the excitement of the moment his thumb slipped off the hammer and the piece was discharged. The two prisoners were in line with the track of the bullet, which went through them both, with the result noted above. *The guard was arrested and tried for murder.* The record was made up and forwarded to the War Department, where the matter was investigated by the Judge Advocate, who decided that the evidence "did not sustain the allegation, that the homicides occurred at the hands of the accused, but that he shot the men while they were deliberately disobeying an order to halt after he commanded them to do so; and that a standing order had been given to fire on all prisoners who did not halt when commanded so to do.

Beyond all question this guard knew of the previous attempts that had been made to escape, he had every reason to suppose that these prisoners were also trying to escape, and if he had shot them deliberately and not by accident, after calling a halt and ordering them to return to their places, he would have been justified in the shooting.

The War Department gave the following order to General Stevens:

OFFICE OF COMMISSARY GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 17, 1864.

Colonel A. A. Stevens, Commanding Camp Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.:

COLONEL—By direction of the Secretary of War you will hereafter, when a prisoner of war is shot by a sentinel for violating the regulations of the post, immediately order a board of officers to investigate all of the circumstances of the case to show that the act was justifiable, a full report of which will be forwarded to this office, with your remarks. It is necessary that both the guard and the prisoners should be fully informed of the regulations or order by which they are to be governed, and when a sentinel finds it necessary to fire upon a prisoner he must be able to show that he was governed strictly by the orders received, and that the prisoner or prisoners willfully disregarded his cautions or commands.

Rigid discipline must be preserved among the prisoners, but great care must be observed that no wanton excesses or cruelties are permitted under the plea of enforcing orders. Should a prisoner be wounded by a sentinel, he will be immediately taken to the hospital where he must have proper attention from the surgeon in charge.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HOFFMAN,

Colonel Third Infantry, Commissary General of Prisoners.

Between October, 1863, and September, 1865, the records of Camp Morton show that seven prisoners were killed by sentinels, they were Goacin Alcemant, on January 16, 1864; James Barnhart, February 11, 1864; James Beattie and Michael Healy, April 16, 1864; Henry Jones and P. P. Phelps, September 27, 1864; George T. Douglass, October 1, 1864. In each instance the killing was done when the prisoner was attempting to escape. In each instance, also, the soldier, or soldiers, who did the shooting were brought before the board of officers as provided in the order just set out, and the facts connected with the shooting were fully inquired into. The very fact that in a camp where so large a number of prisoners were quartered, with the turbulent spirits among them that are spoken of by Wyeth, with all of the jeering and taunting of the guard of which he speaks, and yet from the autumn of 1863 to the spring of 1864, only seven men are killed, and they in the effort to escape, of itself disproves the entire charges made in "Cold Cheer," of the terrible cruelty and disregard of human life on the part of the guards toward the prisoners.

We have under another caption sought to disprove the bare assertion made by Dr. Wyeth that men were frozen to death *because of the neglect* of the officers in charge of the prison camp, and we deal now with the direct charge of beating and murder. Before introducing the evidence to contradict the assertions made by Dr. Wyeth and his later associates, in the Septembe[r]

number of the *Century,* let us test the statements by the standard of reason and common sense. The prisoners in Camp Morton formed a much larger body of men than that of the guards; they, according to the story of Dr. Wyeth, were horribly maltreated, and yet during all of this time, so far as we know from him (Dr. Wyeth), no effort was made to place their grievances before any officer or to bring the terrible situation of the prisoners to the knowledge of any man or body of men, that their wrongs might be remedied. The general charge is now made for the first time after a lapse of twenty-six years, that the guards were guilty of cruelty and outrages and murder. Would not men of reason have appealed for relief? Nay, more, would they not have *demanded* protection, and failing in this would they not have *avenged* themselves, and taken this revenge, too, if for no other reason than that the world about them might know of their wrongs, and thus compel the authorities to treat them justly?

No such measures were taken, and these same guards and officers went in and out, alone, unattended, in all hours of the day and night, and not one of them was ever harmed. If these cruelties existed as stated, again we ask, would not any reasonable body of men, if they were too conscientious to take revenge, have brought the matter to the attention of the Commandant of the camp, General A. A. Stevens, and have held him, above all others, personally responsible? There would have been some one, out of all that vast number of beaten and abused men, who would have had his revenge. Yet neither General Stevens, nor any other officer, not even Corporal Baker, was ever molested. Corporal Baker, it is alleged, shot down a man in cold blood because the man stepped from the ranks after the roll-call was ended, and before the command "break ranks" was given. Baker was alone, as all the evidence in regard to roll-call shows; but there was no outcry by those who stood by; not a hand was

raised to avenge the murder—the cruel, fiendish murder—by Baker. If this story is true, then, indeed, had all manhood gone out of the hearts of these men who boasted of their chivalry and hot blood. If the story, as told by Dr. Wyeth, is true, and the killing happened as related by Dr. Wyeth, then the man who was killed was surrounded by the most cowardly set of men the world has ever seen. Not only were they too cowardly to avenge the death of their comrade, but they, three hundred or more so-called soldiers, were too much in dread of this one man, Corporal Baker, to even make a complaint and have him brought to justice. If this story is true, then there was no American manhood in those who stood by and saw the murder. The very fact that the alleged murder was not avenged, even though by men who were prisoners, disproves the whole story. American manhood, the hot, impulsive blood of the brave soldiers of the South, for they had proved their bravery on many a hard-fought field, never would have permitted those men to stand tamely by when so foul a murder was committed, and never raise hand or voice to avenge it. No man who ever saw the daring of the Southern soldier on the battle line can believe the story. But aside from this, no information is given to anyone concerning this murder. Not even a surgeon is called. Is the story true on Mr. Wyeth's own statement? Since the publication of "Cold Cheer," General A. A. Stevens, the Post Commander, has been asked concerning it. He says: "I recollect Baker, who was a corporal, but *I never heard of his shooting a man.* I should have heard of it if it had occurred."

From inquiry at the War Department, we get this: "Corporal Augustus Baker, of Company G, Fifth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, who formerly served in Company E, Second Indiana Cavalry, and as Corporal of Company G, Fifth Regiment Reserve Corps, was on duty at Camp Morton during the period that his regiment was stationed

at that camp. There is no record that he was tried for any offense, that he shot, or that he was accused of shooting or of cruel treatment to prisoners of war during his term of service."

Terrell's Reports, Volume V, Page 282, report Augustus Baker as a recruit of Company E, Second Indiana Cavalry; mustered October 22, 1862, and transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, March 11, 1864.

The foregoing report from the War Department also contradicts the statement in regard to the alleged brutal assault on the "prisoner (Scott) of the famous Black Horse Cavalry," by Corporal Baker. The charging of *too much* by Dr. Wyeth brings its own condemnation. Says Captain Robert D. Sears of the Forty-third Indiana Infantry: "The whole story of Baker shooting or killing or maltreating men, is something that was never heard of during all the time I was on duty at Camp Morton, from September, 1864, to June, 1865."

Again, if Corporal Baker killed the man as alleged, it must have been at the barracks where the roll was called, and Dr. Wyeth is most emphatically contradicted in his report of the killing of the Confederate soldier, by Surgeon Kipp, as we have shown by his letter, set forth in this article, in which he says: "There were but two deaths in the barracks. One of them died of *disease of the heart*, and the other of *congestion of the lungs*." Brevet Brigadier-General Allen Rutherford, who was in command of the Twenty-second Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, who was with his regiment at Indianapolis and Camp Carrington, from October 17, 1864, to the close of the war, now an attorney at law in Washington, D. C., speaking of Camp Morton, says:

Camp Carrington was situated about one mile from Camp Morton, the prison camp, and I frequently visited there, being acquainted with many of the officers on duty there. The Camp Guard for the rebel prisoners at Camp Morton consisted of the Fifth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps.

The regiments of the Veteran Reserve Corps were composed of officers and men who had been disabled by wounds or sickness in the field, and were all of them old soldiers. During my frequent visits to the prison camp in the winter of 1864–65, I had every opportunity of observing the treatment of the prisoners, condition of their quarters, rations furnished to them, etc., and I have frequently heard officers complain that they and their men had a harder time of it than the prisoners in the pen. Had such a condition of affairs existed as stated in the *Century* article, it would have been impossible that I should not have noticed it. That any non-commissioned officer should have had the power or should have committed the outrages described in that article, I do not believe. All the officers of the Fifth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, with whom I was acquainted, were soldiers and gentlemen, and that they should have countenanced such a condition of affairs is impossible.

Colonel William E. McLean, then in command of the Forty-third Indiana Veteran Infantry, late First Deputy Commissioner of Pensions under General J. C. Black, now a member of the law firm of McLean & Nichols, Washington, writes:

NEW YORK, November 19, 1891.

General James R. Carnahan, Indianapolis, Ind.:

MY DEAR GENERAL—I am, this A. M., in receipt of yours of the 16th inst., forwarded to me here by my law partner from my Washington address. Have been "on the go" so constantly for the past two weeks that your previous letter, to which you refer has not reached me.

The first article in the *Century Magazine*, by Wyeth, to which you refer, I have read, and it is the only article upon that subject matter which I have seen. I confess that the original article surprised me very much, and I at once put it down as a futile attempt at the "sensational," everything of that character being now at a premium. In regard to the various charges of cruelty to the prisoners of war at Camp Morton, I have every reason to believe that all such charges are without foundation in fact.

In June, 1864, I returned with my regiment, upon veteran furlough, from Arkansas to Indianapolis. The regiment was a mere skeleton, less than one hundred and twenty-five men. I had left Little Rock with my command, to participate in the "Steele

Wing" of the disastrous "Banks' Expedition." The regiment was engaged in all the unfortunate battles and engagements which marked the march from Little Rock to Camden and our retreat from the latter place back to Little Rock, losing heavily in the battles of Prairie de Ann, Elkins' Ford, Jenkins' Ferry, and suffering, by capture of more than two hundred men, while guarding a wagon train near Marks' Mills. Upon our arrival at Indianapolis, upon the express wish of Governor Morton, I went at once with the regiment to Kentucky, to aid in arresting one of John Morgan's raids then threatening Louisville. Upon our return to Indianapolis, from Kentucky, and after the expiration of our veteran furlough, the regiment being manifestly in no condition, by reason of its reduced numbers, to return to the front, we were put into camp at "Camp Carrington," in order to recruit, and the fragment of the regiment still left was detailed to do guard duty at Camp Morton.

I was in daily intercourse during all the time, say from July, 1864, until our muster out, with the officers and men of my regiment. I am satisfied that I should have learned something, at least, of the acts of cruelty, if they had really occurred. I have every reason to believe that all these prisoners were well treated, well fed, clothed and sheltered, and that the discipline of the camp was no more rigid than the exigencies of the military service, in those trying and exciting times, fully justified. The greater part of the guard duty at Camp Morton was performed by the two or three regiments of the "Veteran Reserve Corps" then stationed at Indianapolis.

All that I can briefly say is, that I have no facts, no information or belief which leads me to state that these prisoners were treated otherwise than as kindly and humanely as the stern realities of war permitted. Since the close of the war, I will further say, that I have, upon two or three occasions, met gentlemen who have told me that they were Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, and, in no single instance, have I ever heard one of them charge improper treatment, or undue severity against our Union military authorities at Camp Morton.

Yours,

WM. E. MCLEAN.

Says H. C. Bates, now a resident of Aspen, Colorado, then one of the Guards at Camp Morton during the time referred to by Dr. Wyeth:

During all the time I was there I never heard of the prisoners being maltreated in any manner whatever. On the contrary, it was commonly reported and understood that they fared as well as we did ourselves. Any unnecessary severity towards the prisoners would have prompt opposition and indignant protest from all the Union soldiers collected there at the time.

Physically the prisoners appeared to be much above the average and seemed as cheerful and contented as possible under adverse circumstances. Considering the great number confined there, the mortality was not large. There seemed to be no enmity between the prisoners and those whose duty it was to guard them. Many a pleasant and cheering word passed between parapet and prison, and prison and parapet.

I never heard any of them complain of the fare, and they did not look like men suffering from the pangs of hunger. Some time in October, I think, about forty prisoners made a break for liberty on the north side of the stockade. I was not on duty that day. I afterwards learned that a few of them got away, but most of them were recaptured.

I saw the article referred to in the April number of the *Century*, and was very much surprised at the accusations therein contained.

Some allowance, I suppose, should be made for a man who was sick and in prison. It is indeed "Cold Cheer" to be deprived of liberty under the most favorable circumstances, but to be homesick and pass long, dreary days and months in a military hospital, could not be otherwise than dark, dismal and almost hopeless.

His solemn and detailed statements, however, of cruelty and heartlessness to the prisoners on the part of the military authorities and guards are simply monstrous, improbable and incredible. If true, it is passing strange that no one ever heard of it before. Why did not the medical gentleman unfold his tale of woe and relate his story of horrors before a quarter of a century had intervened? Did he delay for, lo, these many years, so that those who knew the facts should have passed into the Silent Land and thus allow his allegations to remain undenied and unchallenged? It may be so

Considering all the circumstances, his statements appear to be either the vague dreaming of a mind diseased or a deliberate and wanton attempt to cast unmerited reproach upon an honorable foe.

Says John Brown, of Oskaloosa, Iowa:

I was a private in Company E, Thirty-seventh Regiment Iowa Volunteers (Gray Beards), and did guard duty with my company and regiment during the summer and fall of 1864 at Camp Morton.

The building and grounds were in a healthy condition, and during all the time we were there the prisoners were well treated. They had an abundance to eat, and that was good. I never heard a word of complaint from any one of the prisoners during all the time I was there. The story of cruelty to those men, by the United States Government, is a falsehood. I am, and ever was a Democrat, but any man who says Confederate prisoners were not well treated at Camp Morton, while I was there, knows nothing of the facts, or maliciously misrepresents them.

Captain James H. Rice, now a resident of Hartford, Conn., then of the Fifth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, and the officer who had charge of the squad of prisoners, among whom was John A. Wyeth, who were sent south from Camp Morton in February, 1865, and exchanged, says:

There was never a prisoner of war at Camp Morton, Ind., during my knowledge of that camp, from October or November, 1863, to May, 1865, who died of starvation or was frozen to death. The rations for prisoners prescribed in orders from the War Department, as set forth in the note to Wyeth's article, were issued by the Post Commissary in the same way that rations were issued to the troops. *There was no subletting of* the furnishing of rations, as intimated by Dr. Wyeth, a fact he could have easily ascertained had he desired to know and state the truth. There was no reason for any prisoner to go hungry. *No prisoner was murdered or willfully mistreated* I know of no case in which a prisoner was killed except in attempting to escape.

I had charge of the five hundred prisoners for exchange in February, 1865, and delivered them to the commissioner at Aikens' Landing, Va. All of the prisoners who were sent for exchange were in good condition. No starved prisoners were in the detachment or left behind at Camp Morton. In Camp Morton most of the prisoners were utterly negligent of their persons. Failed to wash themselves, though ample opportunity was afforded. I say without hesitation, that no prisoner at Camp Morton was ever starved or frozen to death. Dr. Wyeth's statement is absurd.

RATIONS.

Under this head, before going into the question as presented by Dr. Wyeth in his charge of starving, etc., I deem it proper to give a copy of the first order issued to General Stevens on taking command of Camp Morton.

Prior to July, 1862, Camp Morton was under the jurisdiction of the State authorities. Subsequent to that date and until it was discontinued, the camp was under the supervision of the United States authorities. On or about the 21st of October, 1863, Colonel Ambrose A. Stevens, Fifth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, was assigned to duty in charge of the camp, under instructions, of which the following is a copy:

OFFICE OF COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 30, 1863.

Colonel A. A. Stevens, Commanding Camp Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.:

COLONEL—As you have just been placed in command of Camp Morton, I think it proper to communicate to you all instructions which apply to prisoners of war.

You will learn from General Orders 67, of the 17th of June, 1863, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, that under the War Department the control of all prisoners of war is placed in my hands, and that all correspondence in relation to them passes through me, and you will therefore be governed accordingly. Your reports, returns, rolls and other communications should be sent directly through me, and not through the Commander of the Department or District.

I enclose herewith, a copy of regulations heretofore issued from this office, which you are to adhere to strictly. I need not call your attention to any particular part, because all alike are to be fully complied with. If any paragraph has particular prominence, it is the 5th, which relates to the Prison Fund, for which full accounts must be rendered promptly at the end of every month. For the disbursement of this fund you will be held accountable, as no purchases can be made except by your order.

If you have not found proper books in the office for keeping the accounts of the fund and other necessary records of the prisoners,

you will obtain them immediately, paying for them out of the fund, and have them accurately kept. All required blanks will be furnished from this office on your applying for them.

You will immediately make out and transmit to this office an inventory of all property on hand at the camp purchased with the Prisoners' Fund. It must contain all property of every description, furniture, cooking utensils, stoves, tools, lumber, etc., including articles purchased for the hospital. Large quantities of lumber have been purchased. Report how much of it has been used, for what purpose and how much remains on hand.

An extensive bake house was established at Camp Morton two years ago which belongs to the Prison Fund. Report its condition and how it is used. At the same time an addition to the City Hospital was erected, as a hospital for prisoners of war. Report its condition and how it is used.

Report the names, and whether citizens or soldiers, of all men employed, giving the character of service and what compensation they receive.

You will also make me a separate and detailed report of the condition of the camp when you took command; the strength of the guard and its discipline; the condition of the barracks and hospital and what has been done toward repairs; the police of the camp; the condition of the prisons in every respect, and all other details that may be necessary to a complete understanding of all that appertains to it.

I would suggest that you select an active and intelligent officer to perform the duties of Provost Marshal of the camp, who will have the immediate charge of the prisoners and be responsible to you for the proper enforcement of your orders.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this letter and send in the reports with as little delay as possible. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. HOFFMAN,

Colonel Third Infantry, Commissioner General Prisons.

The charge that the U. S. Government or the officers in charge of Camp Morton failed to provide necessary and sufficient food for the prisoners is answered in every statement made by officers in charge of Camp Morton, herein set forth, but as this is one of the charges which Doctor Wyeth considers the greatest, I wish to call attention to

the falsity of the charge, and the further insinuation that the officers charged with the duty of issuing rations converted them to their own use and profit, or in plain terms, stole them and sold them. The officers charged with this duty, from first to last, were less than a half dozen all told, and they were not on duty together at Camp Morton, but separately and at different periods, so that there could have been no collusion or conspiracy between them to rob the Government and starve the prisoners. The Commissariat was the only officer to draw and issue the rations, and he had no other duty. The officers in charge of the guards numbered fully one hundred. These officers had but one duty to perform, to guard the prisoners. The number was necessarily too large for the Commissariat to form an alliance or conspire with, to steal commissary stores—it could not have been done. On the contrary, every one of these officers was in a position to know and detect any Commissariat, and bring him to punishment should he attempt it—nay, more—every prisoner would have been a swift and willing witness against him. The hunger of the prisoner would have driven him to make complaint to the officers in charge of the guard. Yet every one who was conversant with Camp Morton says most emphatically that no complaint was ever heard.

In his "Rejoinder," in the September *Century* (1891), Doctor Wyeth quotes a statement purporting to be from one P. M. Gapen, in which it is asserted that the firm of P. M. Gapen & Co., in the early winter of 1864, purchased certain supplies, and found that they were supplies for the prisoners at Camp Morton. The Directory of the City of Indianapolis for the year 1864, and prior to that time, fails to name the firm (?) of P. M. Gapen & Co. Another significant fact in connection with the so-called firm is, that it does not appear on the Assessor's list, nor on the tax duplicate of Marion County, in which the City of Indianapolis is located. My remem-

brance of the Government price of roasted coffee such as was issued in the winter of 1864, is, that it ranged from 68 to 70 cents per pound—and if the so-called firm of P. M. Gapen & Co. purchased it at 21 cents per pound, as stated, this fact as to the value of coffee in the market, when taken in connection with the price at which the said Gapen says he purchased it, was certainly sufficient to have put any prudent, conscientious and honest dealer on his guard *before* making the purchase lest the suspicion might attach to him that he was an abettor of a thief, or had become the receiver of stolen goods. And surely the statement of the said Gapen under the circumstances should not be heard against officers whose accounts have been examined and approved by the War Department. We have already given the statement of rations issued to prisoners at Camp Morton for October, November and December, 1863, and now here submit the statement from the War Department of rations issued for the year 1864, month by month, and also for 1865, to the closing of Camp Morton as a prison depot:

ABSTRACT OF SUBSISTENCE STORES ISSUED TO REBEL PRISONERS AT CAMP NAT. SHURT-

Daily Average During Each Month.	Total of Rations.	Number of Days.	Commencing.	Ending.	Rations of				
					Pork.	Bacon.	Salt Beef.	Fresh Beef.	Flour.
2,918	90,463	31	Jan. 1.....	Jan. 31.....	2,148	35,066	.....	51,056	88,180
2,861	80,108	28	Feb. 1	Feb. 28.....	.....	28,971	.....	51,850	310 bbls., 86 lbs.
2,552	79,226	31	Mar. 1	Mar. 31	5 bbls., 20 lbs.	30,829	.....	47,825	466 bbls., 38 lbs.
2,252	67,561	30	April 1	April 30....	16 bbls., 188 lbs.	21,991	.....	42,237	473 bbls., 188 lbs.
2,550	79,528	31	May 1.....	May 31.....	.....	32,299	.....	24,369	414 bbls., 46 lbs.
3,201	96,046	30	June 1.....	June 30.....	.....	29,629	.....	42,560	411 bbls., 8 lbs.
4,455	138,135	31	July 1.....	July 31.....	.....	38,823	.....	66,516	498 bbls., 163 lbs.
4,432	137,392	31	Aug. 1	Aug. 31	12 bbls., 102 lbs.	16,918	.....	93,030	578 bbls., 43 lbs.
4,356	130,686	30	Sept. 1.....	Sept. 30	.....	12,195	.....	97,276	624 bbls., 26 lbs.
4,383	135,896	31	Oct. 1	Oct. 31.....	.....	12,833	.....	100,944	448 bbls., 24 lbs.
4,368	131,056	30	Nov. 1.....	Nov. 30.....	149 lbs.	2,318	.....	111,221	579 bbls., 67 lbs.
4,315	133,775	31	Dec. 1.....	Dec. 31.....	24 lbs.	927	11,473	97,763	595 bbls., 15 lbs.
Total	1,299,872	.....	.....	.....	Lbs. 13,957	Lbs. 262799	Lbs. 11,473	Lbs. 826,447	Lbs. 1,146,540

MORTON DURING THE YEAR 1864, BY CAPTAIN L. L. MOORE AND CAPTAIN LEFF, A. C. S.

RATIONS OF

Hard Bread.	Corn Meal.	Beans.	Potatoes.	Rice.	Hominy.	Coffee, Roasted.	Tea.	Sugar.	Vinegar.	Candles, Adamantine.	Soap.	Salt.	Pepper, Black.	Molasses.
26,332	.....	7,867	5,238	2,926	875	4,437	526	13,569	904	1,131	3,619	3,392	226	226
35,856	.....	12,016	13,110	5,524	2,487	4,873	288	12,016	801	1,001	3,204	3,054	200	201
14,239	.....	11,884	23,768	4,870	3,052	5,840	116	12,109	792	990	3,169	2,971	178	198
.....	.....	10,134	20,268	4,058	2,698	5,405	.....	10,134	675	844	2,702	2,534	169	168
6,439	.....	3,097	23,858	2,077	2,083	5,037	79	11,134	795	662	3,181	2,783	199	198
13,557	.....	3,996	14,407	2,565	2,561	584	.....	1,635	720	97	3,842	3,602	.....	29
34,978	384	6,108	.....	3,572	8,570	.....	.....	.....	136	.....	5,525	5,180	.....	.....
8,319	14,554	5,539	.....	3,962	3,544	.....	.....	.....	1,230	.....	5,496	5,152	.....	.....
7,312	35,273	5,449	.....	3,484	3,485	.....	.....	.....	980	.....	5,228	4,901	.....	.....
11,192	.....	8,776	.....	1,047	4,208	.....	.....	.....	1,019	.....	5,436	5,096	.....	.....
15,317	.....	8,324	.....	.....	5,157	.....	.....	.....	983	.....	5,242	4,915	.....	.....
14,998	.....	8,627	.....	.....	5,181	.....	.....	.....	1,003	.....	5,351	517	.....	.....
Lbs. 188,533	Lbs. 50,216	Lbs. 91,817	Lbs. 100,649	Lbs. 34,805	Lbs. 38,901	Lbs. 26,176	Lbs 1009	Lbs. 60,597	Gals. 10,738	Lbs. 4,725	Lbs. 57,996	Lbs. 48,547	Lbs 972	Gal 1020

That these rations were issued to the prisoners, there can be no doubt. Learning that the original requisitions, and report of issues, and receipts for the same, belonging to Captain Thomas Foster, A. C. S., were in the keeping of his son at Duluth, Minn., I visited him for the purpose, if possible, of examining these papers. We found not only these papers, but also the accounts of George W. Hill, now dead, the post baker at Camp Morton, who issued the bread to the prisoners, through the Commissariat. There were also the receipts of Captains L. L. Moore and Nat. Shurtleff, to whom reference has been made in this article, they having received their supplies from Captain Thomas Foster. The Commissariat drew the flour and placed it in the bakery, and the baker issued it in bread. We have compared the vouchers of Captain Foster for each month's issues throughout the entire time and find that they and the reports of the War Department agree. We deemed it important that these vouchers and papers should be examined in view of the implied charge of theft made by Dr. Wyeth against the United States officers, when he admits that *the Government may have issued the rations* to these officers, but that they did not issue them to the men, but sold them. It would seem to an outsider to be rather a difficult matter for a Commissariat to steal and sell 88,180 loaves of bread, or any considerable portion of them, in a city no larger than Indianapolis was in January, 1864, and yet that was the number of fresh bread rations which were issued for the Confederate prisoners in January, 1864, as shown by all the papers and vouchers referred to above; or 55,318 loaves in February, 1864; or 76,398 loaves in March; or 67,561 loaves in April; or 72,024 in May; or 87,965 in June; 105,863 in July; or 168,156 in August; or 166,568 in September; or 97,636 in October; 122,254 in November; and so we might go through each month of the existence of Camp Morton. I have called attention to the flour or soft bread ration more especially, because if

any portion of the ration could be sold readily it could have been flour, and it was worth $9.00 to $10.00 per barrel. But the receipt by the baker *for* the flour, and again the receipt *to* the baker for the bread are on file.

Dr. Wyeth also complains of the quality and quantity of the meat ration. I found among the papers of Captain Thomas Foster, the original retained copy of the contract and bond for the furnishing of fresh beef for the year 1864. The contract was awarded to the firm of Conrad, Gardner & Co., the individual members of the firm being Conrad Gardner, Frederick Borst and John Lake, and this company was to furnish "all the fresh beef that shall be required, in equal proportions of fore and hind quarter meat, *necks, shanks and kidney tallow to be excluded.*"

"Second. That all articles to be furnished by virtue of this contract shall be of first quality, and of steers not less than four years old, and weighing not less than 600 lbs., net."

The quality of the fresh beef to be issued under this contract certainly can not be questioned by those who know what good beef is. I called the attention of one of the prominent butchers and dealers in fresh beef to this contract. His reply was: "There can be no better beef furnished even now." That the beef was issued is evidenced by the requisitions and vouchers, which show that during the year 1864 there was issued to the prisoners in Camp Morton, 826,447 pounds. In addition to this beef ration there was issued 13,957 lbs. of salt pork; 262,799 lbs. of bacon, and 11,473 lbs. of salt beef. Taking the meat issues in the aggregate, we have a total of 1,114,676 lbs. issued during the year 1864, to the men whom Dr. Wyeth asserts were put on such scant rations that they were forced to eat rats and dogs.

Captain Joseph P. Pope, who relieved Captain Thos. Foster as Commissariat, and supplied the Commissariat of Camp Morton, says:

My purchases were made through public advertisements every sixty days. The supplies bought were not surpassed anywhere. Bacon, ham, pork, and all salt meats came from Ferguson and Mansur, the well known packers; flour from the City Mills, Indianapolis. The flour was made up into one-pound loaves of soft bread, unsurpassed in quality by any private family or public bakery. Samples of the baking were sent to my office every day. The bakery was within the enclosure where the prisoners were confined. It is well known that the savings on the flour ration when baked into soft bread amounts to quite an item. All of these savings were calculated and the money paid to the ration fund, and this fund was expended for supplies not furnished by the Government; and the supplies thus purchased were issued to the rebel prisoners and did not appear on the daily report of issues.

There was no such thing as the contract system in the feeding of the rebel prisoners, as is intimated by Dr. Wyeth. I issued for the Government to the Commissariat at Camp Morton, and he to the prisoners direct. I know that they received the rations, for I was at Camp Morton four or five times each week and saw the issues made. There was no possible opportunity to misappropriate any of the supplies. Not only did I see and know that these supplies were not diverted, but the rations could not have been turned from their proper channel and sold without it coming to the knowledge of General Stevens, who was in command of the camp, and the integrity of General Stevens was not called in question during the war, and can not be at this late day. I remained at Indianapolis on duty after I relieved Captain Foster, in December, 1864, until the close of the war, and during all that time I was in and through Camp Morton every week and talked with many of the prisoners, and never heard any complaint of lack of rations at any time.

We have shown the issues of rations, month by month, from the month of the capture of young John A. Wyeth until December, 1864, and for the year 1864 have shown for each month the separate items and quantity of each, and will now give the number of prisoners for each month and the number of rations for each month from January 1, 1865, until the last Confederate prisoner was released, thus covering all the time that he was a prisoner at Camp Morton:

January 1 to January 31, 3,850 prisoners. Total number of rations, 119,360.

February 1 to February 28, 3,438 prisoners. Total number of rations, 96,266.

March 1 to March 31, 1,730 prisoners. Total number of rations, 53,667.

April 1 to April 30, 1,038 prisoners. Total number of rations, 31,149.

May 1 to May 31, 778 prisoners. Total number of rations, 23,498.

June 1 to June 30, 98 prisoners. Total number of rations, 2,963.

July 1 to July 31, 6 prisoners. Total number of rations, 202.

The rations consisted of the same items heretofore specified.

On the 19th of February, 1865, the first installment of prisoners (500) was forwarded from Camp Morton to Point Lookout, Maryland, for exchange, and the present Dr. Wyeth was one of the 500 so forwarded.

Of the prisoners at Camp Morton during its existence as a prison depot, 2,864 were released on taking the oath, and 620 enlisted in the United States service.

We are authorized from data at hand to write up the military record of Dr. John A. Wyeth, as follows:

He enlisted as private, Company I, Fourth Alabama Cavalry, C. S. A., May 1, 1863, was captured by Federal troops October 5, 1863, in the Sequatchie Valley, and was confined at Camp Morton, Indiana, from October 15, 1863, until February 19, 1865, when he was forwarded to Point Lookout, Maryland, from thence to Aikins' Landing, Virginia, and was delivered on parole between March 1 and 3, 1865.

CITIZENS OF INDIANAPOLIS.

Thus far we have spoken of the treatment of the prisoners of Camp Morton by the United States Officers, and have said but little of the citizens of Indianapolis. The conduct of the citizens of Indianapolis during the stormy days of the war speaks more eloquently than human lips, and more forcibly than the most gifted pen in the land could portray, of their humane and Christian sympathy for the unfortunate in the day of battle. From the day the first prisoners of war were brought from Fort Henry and Fort Donaldson to Indianapolis, until the close of the war, and the last Confederate had been paroled to return to his Southern home, the citizens of Indianapolis never wearied in their work of caring for, not only the Union soldiers in the camp and hospitals in and about Indianapolis, but showed equal attention to the Confederate prisoners, whether in the hospitals at Camp Morton or in the City Hospital. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, as is stated elsewhere in this article by Dr. Kitchen and others, that the more dangerous cases were taken from the field hospital at Camp Morton to the City Hospital, which had been utilized for army purposes. For this purpose the ambulance made two trips daily between the hospitals. In the City Hospital, whether Union or Confederate, all fared alike. Dr. Kitchen states that his wife, "with an organized body of ladies, visited the hospital daily, carrying to rebel and Union troops alike such comforts and nourishing food as might tend most toward restoring them to health. Not only was it to the sick in the hospitals, but upon the arrival of prisoners, the ladies sought them out to ascertain if any among them were sick. Many of the Southern prisoners owe their lives to the kind deeds of our Indianapolis ladies."

The statement of Dr. Kitchen is supported by more than

a hundred of the citizens of Indianapolis who were cognizant of affairs in connection with the keeping of these prisoners. I will add but one more statement to the great mass of evidence herein set forth. J. B. McCurdy, of Oscaloosa, Iowa, who was a member of the Veteran Reserve Corps and who was on duty at Camp Morton when prisoner Wyeth was received there, and remained on duty there until the war closed, in speaking of the supplies of food, blankets and clothing that were furnished by the Government to these prisoners, adds: "And they whose misfortune it was to be hospital patients were also further supplied by the kind ladies of the city, who daily flocked into the hospitals, administering to the sick prisoners all kinds of food dainty and inviting, and flowers to cheer. In fact the women visited the prison by hundreds and had access to every part of it, and as a proof of their sympathies some of them fell in love and married them."

This latter statement of the marriage of some of the prisoners to young ladies of Indianapolis is a veritable truth. A number of the best young ladies of the city finally married the men who were prisoners in Camp Morton when first they met.

The citizens of Indianapolis joined with their Governor, Oliver P. Morton, in everything that looked toward the good of our country and all her citizens, whether friend or foe. Governor Morton requested the Legislature as a body to visit Camp Morton and investigate and know for themselves as to the condition of affairs; they did so, and when it was done, not a member of that Legislature, and there were many members who sympathized with the South in the conflict, had a word of complaint or censure. Dr. Wyeth's friends and relatives visited him at Camp Morton, and if there was the destitution prevailing or cruelties practiced of which he writes in the *Century*, then surely it would have been made known by him to them, and they would have published it to the world. But not a word of

censure comes from their lips; on the contrary it would seem that they preferred that he should remain a prisoner, judging from the following letters. The original letters are now on file in the War Department:

PROVOST MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
FIRST DISTRICT ILLINOIS,
PEORIA, Nov. 23, 1863.

General James Oakes, A. A. P. M. General, Springfield:

COLONEL—I have the honor to transmit through your headquarters a letter to Colonel William Hoffman, Commissary, etc., at Washington, and most respectfully request you to endorse the same as cordially as possible.

Any suggestions you may be pleased to make, in aid of my object, will be most thankfully received. I would not do anything to injure the great cause or purpose of my Government in suppressing this infernal rebellion. But if I can, without doing violence to that Government, save the boy and thus render a great service to his mother, I would be greatly rejoiced. This sister is much like myself, the only one of the family that is very much so, hence I feel the more solicitous. Pardon me, sir, for troubling you with my family affairs. It is hard to forget the ties of nature. This boy, John Wyeth, is not quite eighteen, was taken prisoner at Chickamauga. He is now at Indianapolis. If he can be transferred from there to my care without injury to the Government I would be much pleased to take him and keep him where rebels can not again expose his life. If he can not be removed as I suggest, I would be glad to have him kept and not exchanged. The dangers of the field service are much more than those of the camp. If nothing better, perhaps he might be transferred to Rock Island, which is near my home.

Yet, notwithstanding all the kind and tender feelings I cherish for that sister, the boy's mother, I would do nothing to hinder the suppression of this rebellion.

I am, Colonel, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES M. ALLEN,
Captain and Provost Marshal Fifth District Illinois.

PROVOST MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
FIFTH DISTRICT ILLINOIS,
PEORIA, NOV. 23, 1863.

Colonel William Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners, Washington:

COLONEL—I have the honor to request your attention for a moment to the case of a little rebel, who is now a prisoner at Indianapolis. His name is John Wyeth. His mother is a sister of your humble servant. The boy is not quite eighteen years old, rather delicate naturally, and has been very sick since he was taken prisoner. Three sisters reside at Jacksonville in this State. One of them has been to see the boy John at Indianapolis. She is extremely anxious to get him away. She fears the dangers of camp life upon his constitution. I, myself, would be glad to have him under my care and keeping if it can be done with safety to the public service. The boy is hardly responsible for any opinion he may hold on the question of rebellion, or for his position in the rebel army. What may be the opinions or feelings of his parents, I do no know. We have not corresponded since the rebellion commenced. The boy's mother joined with the other members of her father's family in a deed of manumission of his slaves; the other sisters and the brothers removed from Alabama to Illinois. The mother of this boy was married to a gentleman who thought his health would not justify moving to a colder climate. Circumstances alone make us to differ, and if, without setting a bad example and doing more mischief than good, the boy can be removed from Indianapolis to my prison, I will be much gratified to receive such authority.

I am, Colonel, most respectfully your humble servant,

JAMES M. ALLEN.
Captain and Provost Marshal Fifth District, Ill.

"REJOINDER."

The author of "Cold Cheer" in the first sentence of his rejoinder to Colonel W. R. Holloway's article—"Treatment of Prisoners at Camp Morton"—in the September, 1891, *Century*, says:

Of all the United States soldiers held in prison by the Confederacy, there died 153 of every 1,000. Of all Confederate soldiers held in prison at Camp Morton, 146 of each 1,000 died, only a difference of seven in each 1,000.

To ascertain the truth in regard to the relative losses between Union and Confederate troops when prisoners, and to solve the problem as to the cause of these losses, and thus reach the facts as to comparative losses between the two, we must inquire into the condition of the two armies in the field, and the probable, if not the actual, condition of the soldiers at the time of capture.

That the Confederate soldier was a brave and chivalric soldier in the field, no one who served in active duty during the long years of the war, and met him in battle array day after day or month after month, will call in question. When we take into account the difficulties through which they struggled during those long years, by reason of lack of clothing, either for wear or camp, the scarcity of army rations and hospital stores, as reported by the officers and soldiers, and by the press at the time, and as has been proclaimed by every orator and eulogist of the Confederate soldier since the close of the war, we can, and do admire the soldierly qualities of the Confederate army. With all of this suffering for the want of the necessary supplies, admitted by all, may we not, even without any other cause, account in a very great measure for the great sick and death rate among those brave men when the tide of battle had turned against them, and they became prisoners of war, and were strangers in a strange land. If the death rate can be accounted for on a reasonable basis other than that of "starvation, cruel and inhuman treatment or murder" by those who held them prisoners, should it not be done?

In the presentation of our cause we make no weakling's plea. If we, as Indianians, as soldiers, as the citizens of one common country, are not guiltless of the terrible crimes charged, then let the verdict of this great republic, that delights to call itself Christian, be a verdict of "guilty, *thrice guilty.*"

Dr. Wyeth has called attention to the War Department records. By the War Department records, as perpetuated

in its "Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion" let the question be tested and settled. He has not seen fit to refer to book or page of those records, and leaves his reader with no more certain data than his own personal statement. Three questions should be answered in order to reach a decision:

First. What was the comparative physique of the men of the two armies as they entered the service on either side?

Second. What was the comparative condition as to the health of the two armies while they were gathered into the ranks, or camps, opposite to each other on Southern soil, the home and native heath of the Confederate soldier?

Third. What was the manner of life, or rather what were the means at hand to sustain the soldier in the field, to strengthen him and supply vitality when the physical system and the mind, and all the vital forces, were being taxed to their utmost powers of endurance in the field, on the march, in the heat by day and the loss of sleep and rest by night, in the wild rush and fury of the charge, and then the relaxation of the system amounting almost to a collapse after the strain and excitement of the battle.

Having settled these questions we may arrive at the truth in regard to the relative condition of these men when they became prisoners and entered the great prison depots either North or South, and in this manner learn to some extent, at least, the cause of the deaths. The Union troops were, as a class, more robust than those of the Confederate troops. The natural or acquired strength and endurance of the Union forces was greater than that of the Confederate. This was due to two causes:

First. The number of men in our Northern cities and towns, from which to organize an army, was larger than that of the South, and it was a fact well known to every man who served with the armies in the field in active cam-

paign life, that the men who came from the cities and towns could, and did, endure the service better than any other class.

Second. Those who came from the rural or farming districts of the North, from the fact that they were accustomed to an active outdoor life in a stronger or more rigorous climate, more accustomed to hard and severe outdoor exercise, were stronger and more vigorous than were those who came from the farms and plantations of the South where the whites performed less or lighter work. This condition of affairs is very clearly shown in the Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion, a work prepared under the direction of the Surgeon General of the United States army, and issued from the War Department, and the references are to this history, Part III, Medical Volume. On page 31 the table of comparison of the prevalence and fatality of disease in the opposing armies from the commencement of the war to December 31, 1862, shows the percentage in the Confederate army was 3.81, while in the Union army it was 2.01. On page 33 we find this statement in regard to the Confederate army:

The annual number of deaths per thousand strength must have been 167.3, a *rate larger even than the annual mortality among our colored troops.** In brief, so far as comparison can be made with the statistics at command, disease was not only more fatal among the Confederate forces, but the number of cases in proportion to the strength present was considerably greater among them than among the United States troops.

On page 205:

Evidence has already been cited in Table XIV, establishing the fact that in the early history of the war the Southern troops operating in Virginia suffered more from the continued fevers than the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac in front of them, the annual rates of cases, per thousand, of strength having been respectively 275 and 125.

On page 206:

Both commands during the period were composed of raw levies

*The italics not in the text.

unaccustomed to camp life. Both were similarly rationed, quartered and disciplined, for the officers who organized them had been comrades in their military education. It would seem, therefore, that local conditions were not responsible for the greater prevalence of fever in the Confederate camps. The United States army of the Potomac was largely recruited from the urban population of the New England and Eastern States. In its ranks there was certainly a larger proportion of city men than in the Southern army. This appears to have a bearing on the greater frequency of typhoid fever in the latter. Increased rates also prevailed in the Union army as its strength was augmented by the arrival of fresh troops, but the monthly rate did not raise above 15.9, while in the Confederate camp the rate in September was 45 2 per thousand of strength.

Thus it appears from the records that the rate of sickness and death in the Confederate army was *almost* 300 *per cent. greater* than in the Union army.

The next year, to July, 1863, we find the following statement, page 207 :

These figures, as far as they go, strengthen the conclusion, derived from the statistics of the Confederate Army of the Potomac, that the Southern troops suffered *more from the continued fevers* than the Union army during the epidemics consequent on the aggregation of susceptible material.

Again, page 207 :

In fact, if the rates of fatality just cited be applied to rates of prevalence in the armies of the Potomac, the average mortality rate in the rebel army will be found to have been 7.62 monthly per thousand of strength, as compared with 2.32 among our Northern troops.

The ratio is still kept up. We might follow these comparisons still further, for there is not a table nor a comparative statement from first to last but shows a greater sick rate *in the field* where both armies were face to face, the Northern soldier on strange ground, in a latitude new to him, from a high and dry climate, to one low, wet and miasmatic, while the Southern soldier was in a land to which he had been accustomed all his life, and yet the

Union soldier withstood the fevers and epidemics better than the Confederate.

Medical Volume II, History of the War of the Rebellion, page 26, speaking of the relative cases of diarrhœa and dysentery alone between the United States and Confederate armies of the Potomac, says that "the cases in the Confederate army were 740 per thousand of strength, while in the United States army it was 407." This disease, as all know, was the cause of a large percentage of the deaths.

Page 63 and 64, Volume III:

The unbolted corn-meal, which formed the farinaceous staple of the Confederate ration, was certainly a prolific cause of intestinal irritation, especially in troops subject to the influence of strong predisposing conditions. * * * *

The presumption is that, at the time of their capture, many of the prisoners were suffering from diseases resulting from insufficient diet and from the exposures and continued fatigues incident to military movements preceding the disaster that brought about their captivity.

But no doubt exists as to their condition on their arrival at the prison. This is recorded by many of the inspecting officers. In fact "the debilitated condition of the men from previous hardships and exposures," or words of similar tenor, are of frequent occurrence in all reports relating to the sickness and mortality of the prisoners.

Page 65, Volume III:

The chief cause of the mortality is to be found in the fact that a large number of the prisoners arrived at the depot broken down, in advanced stages of disease, some, in fact, moribund, and others past all hope for treatment.

I again call attention to what has been before stated in this article quoted from page 70, same book.

Even with the same provisions, in the first months of the war, we find the greater prevalence of disease and death in the Confederate army, and the conditions for its

continuance and increase may be found in the growing scarcity of the supply and variety of rations, and in meager hospital stores of the Confederate army. There was less and less each month to support the vital forces or to renew and build up the system, once it had in any manner become weakened, debilitated or broken down. Not only were the Confederate forces shut off more and more from a foreign supply, as the blockade was made more and more effective, but as the increased and continuous conscriptions were made in the South, the producing power in their own midst was lessened; add to this difficulty that of the opening of the Union army to the enlistment of the blacks, the working or producing element and the inability to purchase not only food, but materials for clothing, and you bring to the danger, sickness and death, then prevalent, additional death producing factors, and the yet greater lack of proper clothing. No man in the South calls this statement of destitution, both as to food and clothing, in question. Medicines were also lacking to destroy the poisonous malaria and build up the system after the fever had taken hold of the system. See Volume III, pages 171, 186, 189 and on, as to the scarcity of quinine and the various substitutes that were sought. All these calamitous situations environed the Confederate soldier before he became a prisoner, and though not all were sick, and the army of brave, courageous men were held together, the seeds of disease were thoroughly planted in the system to break down the body as soon as the excitement of the campaign and the battle was over. Those of us who saw more of the actual service than the young Wyeth of 1863, understand what the severe strain on the soldier is. It was excitement, pride, the sense of personal honor, more than all physical powers, that did the fighting and hard work. But when that excitement and its producing agent, the campaign and the battle-field were gone, then it required all the very best helps that could be brought to bear, to revive and

rebuild, and these helps it is known the Confederate soldier did not have.

Frank H. Johnson, now a resident of Indianapolis, and connected with the firm of G. H. Shover & Co., carriage-makers, says that he enlisted at Dallas, Texas, as a private in Company B, Nineteenth Texas, in 1862, and was a member of and with that regiment until the war closed. That their rations consisted of corn meal, beef, and a little salt. The corn meal was unbolted, and that the only means they had of sifting it was with a tin can, the bottom of which they had punctured with a nail. That at one time for a period of over a year there was not a pound of wheat flour issued to their command. The corn meal and beef was procured from the country and not by regular issues. The only issues that were made by the Commissariat was at Camden, Arkansas, and on the Red River Campaign, and then the corn meal was of such bad quality that it would not have been used except from sheer necessity. During all of the time he was in the service he never saw any tea or coffee. That the diarrhœa and dysentery resulting from their diet was prevalent throughout their army to an alarming extent, and that in one year, their regiment, which numbered, rank and file, 1,100 men when they started out, lost over 300.

Medicines were very scarce, and although their Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon were good officers, and tried to help their men, they could do but little, owing to the scarcity of medicines. Their clothing was procured by sending officers and men home to gather up clothing that was contributed by the citizens of Texas, and that it was no infrequent thing to see men bare-foot on the march at all seasons of the year, for lack of shoes or boots. He says their regiment was one of the regiments that was ordered to the reinforcement of Arkansas Post, but that the Post was captured before they reached it. That he saw a great many of the men that had been at Arkansas Post and escaped, and that

they were in as bad condition as were the men of his own regiment: poorly clad, poorly fed, and suffering from the camp diseases, and the cold. This was in January, 1863.

It will be well to know that a great number of the prisoners that were taken at Arkansas Post were taken to Camp Morton, and if they were in the condition stated by this ex-Confederate soldier when they started from Arkansas Post, what must it have been when they came into the severe climate of the North? This is the story of the condition of the most of that great army of prisoners that came to the prison depots. "The men were broken down in health by previous hardships and exposures," is the almost universal report that is made by the surgeons. Is it any wonder, then, that these men who had endured so much for the cause of the South, should die in the prison depots and hospitals? Is it not the greater wonder that they did not die even in greater numbers than they did? It is to the credit of the surgeons and soldiers of the Union army, and to the care that was given them by the kind-hearted men and women of the North, that the lives of the great mass of them were saved. It is to this that Dr. Wyeth owes his life to-day. He is the last man that should have inveighed against the soldiers and people of Indiana.

While the situation and surroundings of the Confederate soldier were such as we have stated, all tending to make him an easy prey to fatal diseases and death, they were far different with the Union soldier in the field. He had food in abundance. He had clothing and blankets and shelter-tents that he carried with him. When captured he was strong and vigorous, not weak from lack of food or medicines, and was well prepared to cope with the confinement and disease incident to prison life. It was because of the facts herein stated that the death rate was against the Confederate army. The sick ratio was against soldiers of the South almost 300 per cent. more than the

Union soldier when taken prisoner. All these things that were in favor of the Union soldier, health, strength, natural vigor, to which may be added the greater enthusiasm born of victories on the battle-field, had to be wiped out and the tables turned, and he had to be subjected to the same privations, and a hundred-fold worse than those that had been endured by the Southern soldier in the field, while the Confederate soldier had to be supplied with and brought to the comforts and remedies that had been the lot of the Union soldier, before you could turn the death rate about and transfer to the Union ranks the extra 300 per cent. greater sick and death rate that had been borne by the Confederate, before you could add *"only"* the *seven more to the* 1,000 dead of the Union prisoners than Confederate prisoners, even if it be as Dr. Wyeth says, " only a difference of seven in each 1,000." If A owes B $300 at the beginning of the year, and at the close of the year, instead of A owing B $300, B owes him seven dollars, would any book-keeper or accountant claim that the relative financial position between A and B had only been changed seven dollars? Just such was the change and the loss of the Union troops, when compared with the Confederate, when changed from the field to the prison.

Is the comparative statement of deaths, which is made by the writer of " The Rejoinder," true as shown by the statistics? Most certainly it is not correct if the Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion states facts, and surely that work is to be relied upon, for it comes to the world by authority of the War Department.

If the statement of Dr. Wyeth be true, that is if it be true that the death loss at Camp Morton is only seven less on the 1,000 than the ratio of the death loss of Union soldiers in Southern prisons, then the aggregate death loss to Confederates in Northern prisons far exceeded that of Union prisoners. This latter proposition is not true either in theory or in fact, nor is it claimed by the most ardent

defender of the views of Dr. Wyeth, at least by no intelligent defender.

Comparative statements of losses are difficult to make, for the reason that at all of the northern prison depots records were kept, and in but two of the prison depots of the south was there any record left. Speaking of the reports of the prison depots that were under the charge of the United States, we find in Medical Volume II, page 31, Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion, the following:

> Altogether the reports must be considered quite as complete as those which represent the sickness and mortality of our own armies. In the case of the United States prisoners held by the Confederates, on the other hand, little statistical information can be obtained for any of the large depots except Andersonville and Danville, beyond the number of graves found after the close of the war.

Page 32, same book, says:

> The original hospital register of the famous prison at Andersonville has fortunately been preserved and is now deposited in the office of the Adjutant-General. This book records 17,875 admissions of prisoners to hospitals between February 24, 1864, and April 17, 1865. Out of this number 12,541 deaths are recorded.

On page 38 of the same volume we find the following:

> It will be shown in a future chapter on the general subject of sickness and mortality among prisoners of war, that the treatment of prisoners by the United States authorities was very different from that which prisoners in the hands of the Confederates received. As a general rule, they were housed in wooden barracks, provided with ridge ventilation, and quite as good as those used for the United States troops in permanent camps. Where barracks or buildings were not provided, serviceable tents were supplied. The ration was quite liberal, and the difference in money value between the ration actually used and that allowed to United States soldiers was credited to the prison fund, on which the surgeon in charge was authorized to draw for the purchase of vegetables and antiscorbutics for the sick.

Medical Volume, Part III, Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion, page 54, *in re* Camp Morton, says:

> The diet in both prison and hospital was good and sufficient; vegetables were freely used and the hospital fund liberally expended in the purchase of delicacies for the sick. Soft bread of excellent quality was issued daily from the post bakery.

We also call attention to the statements of each one of the officers and men, and the physicians and citizens, that are included in this article, in regard to the condition of Camp Morton, both as to the prison and hospital, as to the provision for the necessities of the prisoners. Having done this, we now desire to call attention to the comparative statement of sickness and death annually in the principal United States depots for Confederate prisoners.

Medical Volume, Part III, Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion, page 61, shows the following death rate per 1,000, as follows:

Camp Douglass, Illinois, 44.1,	Alton, Illinois, 55.0,
Rock Island, Illinois, 98.0,	Camp Morton, Indiana, 46.7,
Johnson's Island, Illinois, 9.8,	Camp Chase, Ohio, 75.2,
Elmira, New York, 241.0,	Fort Delaware, 45.4,
Point Lookout, Maryland, 46.4.	All these depots, 65.7 (average).

The average death-rate in these nine principal depots of Confederate prisoners was as just shown, 65.7 per 1,000, and yet this average is much larger than was the actual death-rate at Camp Morton, and if there were "only" the difference of seven per 1,000 between the death-rate of the Union prisoners in the Southern prisons, and Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, then the estimates made by authority of the War Department are wrong, for the average death-rate exceeds the excess of the "7 only" of Dr. Wyeth. Might it not be possible, however, that he, the learned M. D., is the one who is at fault with figures? He reports the death-rate at Camp Morton at 146 of each 1,000; the reports from the Surgeon General of the United

States in the last citation quoted, says the annual death-rate per 1,000 men admitted to Camp Morton was 46.7. Let those who read the record judge. It would be well, however, to let his statement on this matter, when contrasted with the record, be borne in mind in reading *his* statements as to the lack of rations, brutal treatment, freezing, etc., in Camp Morton. If he missed by more than three hundred per cent. of actual deaths, what are we to judge as to his other statements in regard to treatment of prisoners at Camp Morton?

In the comparative statement concerning Camp Morton and the other prison depots, I wish to call attention to the fact that four of the nine have a larger death-rate than Camp Morton, and that another is only three-tenths of one less, while another is only one and three-tenths less on the 1,000. The diseases named in all these camps—and we find the same in the Confederate prison depots—are continued fevers, malarial fevers, eruptive fevers, diarrhœa and dysentery, scurvy, pneumonia and pleurisy. Of scurvy at Camp Morton, the record only shows 1.0 to the 1,000, and this proportion is shown in favor of Camp Morton during the entire existence of these hospitals.

The total number of deaths among Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, as shown by the records, was:

Specified diseases	1,175
Wounds, injuries and unspecified diseases	12
Total	1,187

And of these deaths the larger portion occurred before the time of which Dr. Wyeth writes—when the Fort Donaldson and Fort Henry prisoners were there. Of their condition when they arrived we have already spoken.

In a foot note, Dr. Wyeth says: "At Andersonville, Ga., 333 Union prisoners, and at Elmira, N. Y., 245 Confederates out of every 1,000 perished."

It had not been our intention to enter into the subject of Confederate prisons, our only object being to present Camp Morton in its true light. Nor shall we now go into any description of the terrible scenes in and about the Confederate prison depots. These have been reviewed over and over, and their remembrance can be productive of no good, and in this article I shall only speak of Andersonville because the author of "Cold Cheer" has seen fit to compare it indirectly with Camp Morton, and in this I shall only refer to its death record as compared with the death record of Camp Morton.

Concerning the hospital at Andersonville we find in the Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion, Medical Volume III, accredited to the statistics derived from the *original registers* of the hospitals attached to the Andersonville and Danville prisons, pages 33 and 34, the following:

> The Andersonville register, extending from February 24, 1864, to April 17, 1865, inclusive, shows the number of admissions from the stockaded prison to have been 17,875; but as 458 of these are reported as having been cases of wounds and injuries and 1,430 have no diagnosis entered against their names, the cases of specific diseases number only 15,987. The result in 946 of these cases is not recorded, so that the number of cases of specified disease that may be traced to their determination is reduced to 15,041. Of these 11,086 died, or 73.7 per cent of the whole number.

And this does not include the deaths in the prison.

From the figures and statements thus given, it will be seen that every possible number that would increase the death ratio is subtracted, and only those cases that are traceable to specified diseases and their known results are given. Thus 458 wounds and injuries; 1,430, no diagnosis, and 946 in which the result is not recorded, making a total of 2,834 which are deducted from the total number admitted to the hospital. Thus the Andersonville

prison secures, in that reduction, that much of a reduction on its death ratio. Continuing the quotation we read:

This enormous mortality is an index of the condition in which the unfortunate men became reduced before they were admitted to this so-called hospital. The professional mind is shocked in endeavoring to realize the scenes presented in an establishment, the wards of which formed the portals of the grave to three out of every four soldiers who had the misfortune to enter them. Indeed, it appears that large numbers died uncared for in the prison, and were removed to hospital simply for record and interment. Some times the deaths in the prison outnumbered those in the hospital. The reports for the week ending September, 1864, show the occurrence of 336 deaths in the former (the prison) and 334 in the latter establishment. At this particular time, one-half of the fatal cases were already terminated when taken up on the hospital register. *The average number of deaths that occurred daily during the occupation of the depot was thirty; but as many as a hundred deaths were recorded in a single day.* Certainly the most fatal field of the war was that enclosed within the stockade at Andersonville, Georgia. Ratios calculated from the hospital register have a melancholy interest as indicating the manner in which these men were cut down in the flower of their manhood. They have no bearing on the fatality of the specified diseases, as the number of those sick within the stockade is not known; but the information yielded concerning the relative prevalance of certain grave diseases is as definite as if complete records of sickness were at command.

And from the Table XVI, page 35, of the same authority, we find that the annual ratio *of deaths* per 1,000 strength at Andersonville, to have been 792.8. Place Andersonville with a death rate of 792.8 per 1,000 by the side of Camp Morton with a death rate of 46.7 and note the contrast.

Again, on page 36, same authority, we find this:

During the six months (March 1 to August 31, 1864), 7,712 deaths occurred in the average strength of 19,453 prisoners present, equalling an annual rate of 792.8 per thousand, or the extinction of the whole 19,453 in about fifteen months.

We do not deem it necessary to go further into this com-